

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Leadership Is Where You Find It.....	<i>Editorial</i>
Mayor Charlie Cuts Corners	<i>George Kent</i>
Can We Afford the Initiative?.....	<i>Alfred F. Smith</i>
Income Tax Aids Annexation.....	<i>R. T. Anderson</i>
Old Father Penn's Weakling.....	<i>H. Eliot Kaplan</i>
14th State Capital Votes Manager Plan	451
Counties Seek Modern Charters	457
P. R. in German National Elections	460
Berkeley Studies New Taxes.....	464
Local Groups Endorse Candidates	467
Facts From and For Government	471

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JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
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Proportional Representation

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Contents for October 1949

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS	430
EDITORIAL COMMENT	431
MAYOR CHARLIE CUTS CORNERS	George Kent 433
CAN WE AFFORD THE INITIATIVE?	Alfred F. Smith 437
INCOME TAX AIDS ANNEXATION	R. T. Anderson 443
OLD FATHER PENN'S WEAKLING	H. Eliot Kaplan 448

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION	H. M. Olmsted 451
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP	Elwyn A. Mauck 457
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION	George H. Hallett, Jr., and Wm. Redin Woodward 460
TAXATION AND FINANCE	Wade S. Smith 464
CITIZEN ACTION	Elsie S. Parker 467
RESEARCHER'S DIGEST	John E. Bebout 471
BOOKS IN REVIEW	476

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

'United Action for Good Government' Twin Cities Conference Theme

UNITED action for good government will be the keynote of the League's 1949 National Conference on Government, to be known as the Twin Cities Conference, in St. Paul, November 28, 29 and 30.

Jack Kroll of Cincinnati, director of the Political Action Committee, CIO, and Ed. P. Phillips, president of the Phillips Machinery Company, Richmond, speaking on the common stake of labor and industry in good government, will sound the keynote of the conference at the opening luncheon at the Hotel Lowry Monday, November 28. Both Mr. Kroll and Mr. Phillips have been active in charter movements in their home cities.

Throughout the conference speakers and subjects will symbolize the growing realization of the pressing need for teamwork among citizens of all walks of life and public officials at all levels of government.

At luncheon, afternoon and evening sessions outstanding public officials and civic leaders who can speak with the authority of accomplishment will talk on such vital subjects as the need of cities for home rule and modern charters and how to get them, the human and financial dividends of expert city management, modernizing state government and the whole problem of intergovernmental relations and how to preserve a maximum of responsibility and self-determination at the community level. League President Charles Edison will be the principal speaker at the annual dinner Tuesday night.

Group sessions for intimate discussion of vital problems with which citizens and officials are wrestling will be held Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday mornings. In each group there will be people who have demonstrated their expertise in dealing with the problems under discussion. There will be short papers or talks during the first hour or so of the two and a half hour sessions but those in attendance will have ample opportunity to get practical answers to their immediate problems.

Among the subjects to be threshed out in group sessions will be successful civic campaigning—to get or keep a good charter, for example; roads to effective home rule; how to get a new state constitution; university services to states and local governments and civic-minded citizens; the future of the direct primary; the status and prospects of proportional representation (annual meeting of P. R. League); what makes an efficient city government; businesslike management in small communities; progress in state government; and the problem of too many overlapping and competing governments serving the same community.

The National Association of Civic Secretaries and the newly organized Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers will hold supplementary sessions and their members will take part in the conference. The first supplementary session of the NACS Sunday evening, November 27, will deal with the money problems of local civic organizations. AMPRO, organized as a result of an informal get together at the National Conference on Government in Boston last year, will assist the League in a group session on municipal public relations and hold a special regional meeting of its own.

Look for more details and names of speakers and participants in the November NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and in the preliminary program. For reservations write as soon as possible to the Hotel Lowry, St. Paul, Minnesota, being sure to say you are attending the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government.

Leadership Is Where You Find It

WHEN the council-manager plan was very new, Charles A. Beard dropped into the discussion a mild suggestion that it made no provision for leadership. The criticism reappears, as a quotation or otherwise, in other textbooks although Dr. Beard later endorsed the plan in the light of 30 years' experience.

The *Model City Charter* and most of the cities using the plan give the chairman of the council the title of mayor. This may have been a tactical mistake; to have had no such title might have been better. For although such mayors are only chairmen, chosen usually by the council from its own membership and having a vote but no veto or separate powers, campaigns for adoption get muddied up by what salesmen call a "talking point," namely that the people are to lose their former power to elect the mayor. If there just were to be no mayor at all, these protests would have to take some less plausible and mischievous form.

Charter commissions frequently yield the issue by providing separate election of the mayor while faithfully keeping him to the regular *primus inter pares* position. Thus the 1949 *Municipal Year Book* lists 451 council-manager charters of which 254 provide for election of the chairman-mayor by the council from among their own number, 184 for his selection at the polls and thirteen for giving the title to the candidate who gets the highest vote.

In Dallas a local theorist is campaigning to switch from choice by

council to a separate balloting upon a separated group of candidates for mayor although the mayor of Dallas is to remain one of the council in terms of his authority.

The prime virtue of the council-manager plan lies not in its creation of the post of manager but in its ability to produce good councils. Anything which tends to play up one councilman at election time over the others runs wild and, in so far as it over-dramatizes one member, diverts public attention from the rest.

Because it equalizes the posts that are up for election and makes every councilmanic seat important, the choice-by-council method is desirable. The Dayton highest vote method is next best if the "talking point" must be catered to. Other reasons are:

1. It is undesirable to put candidates into two ballot sections, one for mayor and one for councilman. Good candidates who would have made acceptable councilmen may lose because they aspired to the mayoralty.

2. The tendency of voters to be content with an informed vote for mayor and negligent of the equally important councilmen makes for lopsided decisions at the polls and the slipping of undesirable candidates into council.

But how about leadership? Is there a craving of people for someone to follow apart from this craving for drama? Undoubtedly. Sometimes leaders appear and sometimes they don't.

Leadership is where and when you find it. It is purely relative; the strong man drops out of the council, the next strongest man takes his place for a while and gets eclipsed by a newcomer a few years later. A man chosen at the polls to be mayor may not turn out to be the man whom the council or the people feel most like following. You cannot single one man from a group and say "You shall lead!" and "You others shall follow!"

Surely the sound way is to let the council decide which member to honor. The need of the moment may be for a highly articulate spokesman who does well in public debate, or for a middle-of-the-road man whom both factions of a divided group consider fair-minded, or for the man with the biggest popular following

or greatest intrinsic dignity and eminence. The original thinker who is first to arrive at solutions may be dependent on a slower, less inventive mind to carry the ball for him. Which of them is the real leader?

If it is a good team we want, it had better be allowed, as in football, to choose its own captain. The team-mates rather than the constituents have got to work at close quarters with the selectee. The ability to get elected by the people to a separate but empty mayoralty may rest on factors of support that have nothing to do with the candidate's fitness for the chairman's duties; the ability to attract the support of his peers in the council is a good test of leadership in direct intimate relation to his duties.

R for California

TWO vivid, bold articles in *Collier's* (August 13 and 20) describe Artie Samish, "the secret boss of California," a super-lobbyist with great funds and staff supplied by various commercial pressure group clients. He serves them primarily by expertly influencing elections of legislators and minor state officers, manipulating procedural detail in the legislature and splashing misleading advertising on billboards in initiative campaigns. Governor Warren concedes him greater power than the governor in issues of interest to the clients.

The author of the articles, Lester Velie, volunteers as remedies: (1) reversion to a mythical thing called

party responsibility instead of the open primary—he has forgotten Southern Pacific, (2) better salaries—\$5,000 instead of \$1,200—for legislators, and (3) better identification of campaign contributors.

These remedies will not be enough to halt this kind of political piracy.

Samish's effectiveness depends on the scattering of public attention among a shadowy array of minor elective offices and the profigate use of the initiative.¹ He throws his weight around among candidates who, by reason of their relative littleness and rather technical charac-

¹See "Can We Afford the Initiative?", page 437 this issue.

(Continued on page 466)

Mayor Charlie Cuts Corners

Louisville's chief executive drops red tape to get things done; hires city administrator; acts on citizen 'beefs'.

By GEORGE KENT*

WHEN Charles Peasley Farnsley was a boy, his mother sat him down in the parlor one day and said that this time, rather than spank, he was going to reason things out with him. Young Charlie, twisting the seam of his trousers, said, "Just spank me, ma!"

Today, as mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, he displays the same impatience with words. "Let's just get things done," he says. And during his brief 1 months in office he has expedited a breath-taking total of civic improvements and innovations.

He has done most of it by a disarming indifference to the conventional way of getting things done. He has cut corners, ignored political caution and always dared to be an original and courageous city executive.

Forty-two years old and a big slouchy six feet two, with thinning carrot colored hair, Charlie—everybody calls him Charlie—was born in Louisville, son of a Louisville judge, and took his law degree from the University of Louisville. Later he spent four years in the state legislature. All of this is quite orthodox. But there's nothing ordinary either in the man or his career.

The great grandson of slave own-

ers, he is a regular contributor to the Urban League, a national Negro organization. When a woman complained about colored people moving into her street, Charlie said sharply, "A Negro has a right to live anywhere." In Kentucky such a remark takes courage.

You see his unconcern with the conventions in the clothes he wears—the Robert E. Lee hat, the derby sack coat and that mark of the old south, the string tie. When he gets into a chair he slumps down, coming to rest somewhere in the middle of his back. In the words of a wag, "He sits up recumbently." After meals he stretches out on the floor, flat on his back, covers his eyes with blinders and goes to sleep. This may occur at home, in his office, wherever he happens to be.

But make no mistake! In Charles Farnsley, Louisville has an extraordinary executive. Charlie became mayor in February 1948 by a vote of the board of aldermen after the previous incumbent died. His first gesture was characteristic. Instead of ceremoniously moving into the city hall, he went off to the state capital, Frankfort, where 54 bills concerning Louisville were coming up for a vote. All were considered dead ducks. The mayor lobbied life back into the legislative program. Before he left 39 had been passed.

His next move tickled the headline writers. He established some-

*Mr. Kent is roving editor of the *Reader's Digest*. In his journalistic career he has traveled all over the world, was with the United Press office in Paris for a time, and acted as war correspondent during World War II.

thing new in city government, the *beef session*. Farnsley, who had specialized in political science at college, was disturbed over the great gulf dividing the city executive from the people. What worried them, what they wanted, what they liked—he did not know. Except for a vocal minority, the people had no way of saying what they were thinking. Charlie said as much one day to Ed Edstrom, city hall reporter for the *Courier-Journal*, and Edstrom replied, "That's easy, give them a time and a place—and they'll tell you. They'll *beef*, all right."

Beef Sessions Held

"A wonderful idea," exclaimed His Honor, and a week later all Louisville was invited to come and pour out their hearts at the city's first beef session. They have kept coming ever since, once weekly. Anyone can come. Everything that goes on is reported at length in the newspapers. Farnsley presides surrounded by his department heads, who are assembled there to answer specific complaints. The beefer comes up and sits in a chair alongside the mayor, sharing the microphone with him. What they say goes out over the air through a local broadcasting station.

Most of the complaints deal with traffic and street maintenance. Where possible the grievances are promptly cared for. In every case the mayor checks through to see that what has been promised is done.

Charlie exhorts his department heads to read the "letters to the editor" in the newspapers and take care of the complaints that appear there. He also invites citizens to

telephone him and he is trying to get the phone company to make it possible for anyone to reach him simply by dialing m-a-y-o-r.

One of his first acts was to create the Louisville Citizens Survey which now sends expert interviewers into homes to discover how the people are thinking. This grew out of his long friendship with Elmo Roper, whose organization does the interviewing. So far, surveys have been completed covering such subjects as traffic, taxation, schools, housing. From them Mayor Farnsley learned that what the people wanted most was well paved streets and recreation facilities for their children. He saw that they had both, in less than a year.

The paving problem was largely one of finances. There just wasn't enough money. For nights Farnsley sat up reading reports from other cities and technical discussions on street maintenance, making calculations. Finally, early one morning, he hit it—again an unorthodox notion.

Instead of doing an expensive curb-to-curb job, the mayor said the city would pave only the driving portion of the street. Let the parking lanes remain rough. They did not matter. In two months Farnsley resurfaced—"half-soled," he called it—42 miles of Louisville streets more than had been done in the 25 years before. The saving to the city was 30 per cent of what a conventional job would have cost.

In providing recreation, instead of projecting ambitious parks, he took a leaf out of the book of New York and other city planners and opened up play streets. He had more than 40 in a short time. And he added to

them by taking over vacant lots. To all he distributed play paraphernalia, including balls and baskets. And the other day he rolled obsolete streetcars into ten of them, which will be employed to show movies and for use as indoor play rooms when it rains.

Balm to the Farnsley soul was the March report of the chief of police. Vandalism, he said, had dropped to zero in every neighborhood where a play street had been established.

To protect children against traffic accidents, Charlie invited women to serve as part-time crossing police. He put 25 women through school, outfitted them with uniforms, paid them \$50 a month. The women were proud of their work and are doing an excellent job.

The same watchdog attitude toward the city pocketbook was apparent on other occasions. A pretentious four-lane highway—an outer drive—was being contemplated. Farnsley winced when the cost was mentioned—one and a half million dollars. "Maybe there's another way," he said. He and his engineers piled into cars and drove slowly around the city. On the ride they discovered that a badly paved street called the old River Road, badly engineered and impeded by boulevard stops, was actually shorter than the projected four-laner. A few weeks later the old River Road became a through street. It was repaved, its curves banked, the stops eliminated, lights eliminated. So for \$500,000—a saving of one million dollars—Louisville had its outer drive.

Charlie did it again with the schools. They were unquestionably

in poor condition. But one new school would cost almost twice the \$600,000 available for improvements. The mayor rounded up twenty of the town's leading architects, dropped the problem in their laps, directing his appeal to their pride as citizens. They agreed to cooperate and then, one week-end, they went out and blueprinted 24 schools, outlining possible improvements and repairs. A survey of this kind would have cost \$75,000. They did it for nothing. After the survey came the work. Louisville schools today are far from perfect but they have been modernized to the limit of the money available.

New Ideas in Education

Of all the accomplishments of this amazing mayor, perhaps the most spectacular are the developments in education he has fathered. One night he sat late considering the crowded conditions of the city's colleges. Suddenly he had an idea and although it was two in the morning he phoned Dr. John L. Taylor, president of the University of Louisville. Taylor came over and the pair worked out a scheme for neighborhood colleges. This called for setting up university classrooms in all the branch libraries. They would be open to the general public, would be taught by university professors, and those attending would receive full university credit.

Charlie had classes in session in ten days. Shortly afterward, he brought the educational director of the National Broadcasting Company to Louisville. Out of their talks came a scheme which has given great vi-

tality to radio education. The University of Louisville set up a course in the great novels. Hollywood stars dramatized them. The university issued assignments, corrected papers, gave final examinations. For the first time, a person could listen to the radio and—if he did the supplementary work—get college credit for his effort. The program, called the University Theater, is now broadcast over 131 stations.

Farnsley also installed television in the city libraries, explaining, "People might as well look-listen in a library as in a bar. It makes business for the bar, why can't it make business for the library?" As a matter of record, the borrowing of books has materially increased.

In the Louisville library a reader can hear and borrow phonograph records. Special ear phones enable him to listen without disturbing neighbors who are reading. If he misses one of the university broadcasts he can hear it again simply by requesting it of the librarian. The main library, the nine branch libraries and several high schools are all linked by wire to a central studio which each day plays for card holders and schools a request program of classical music and drama. A teacher, for example, who wants her class to listen to *Macbeth* has but to telephone and at the specified hour the play will come into her room. The library soon will be operating a ten-watt FM station for the general public that will accept no sponsors.

In this day, when people look hungrily to a life in the country, Farnsley is almost unique as a believer in cities and city life. Attend-

ing the United States Conference of Mayors, he said: "If a farmer gets just a despondent look in his eye, a dozen agencies rush in and the farmer gets not only fertilizer but money. But if the city businessman gets a similar look in his eye, people rush in with warrants."

Mayor Farnsley is now about to do something about the idea. He is preparing to appoint a city agent who will do for the small businessman and other urbanites what the county agent does for farmers. The project is experimental, it has never been tried before. Charlie will start the man off with a desk and a secretary and let him develop the job.

Political Suicide?

The mayor has committed enough political suicide to inter a dozen ordinary officials. Twice, for example, he has demanded an increase in taxes on the eve of an election. To professional vote getters this spelled sure political death. Charlie fooled them. Last November, running on the Democratic ticket and making only two speeches, he polled a majority of 11,500—4,000 better than Truman received.

Shortly after taking office, he announced that it was impossible for him to put his ideas into effect and at the same time sit at a desk putting with papers. So he hired Roy Hamilton Owsley, famous as a city administrator, to take care of the details. He called him a "consultant," and paid him \$15,000 a year out of his own contingent fund. No one on the municipal payroll goes as much money, not even the mayor.

(Continued on page 442)

Can We Afford the Initiative?

California's experience indicates need to revamp law to insure sound measures and solvency of state's finances.

By ALFRED F. SMITH*

SINCE California adopted direct legislation in 1911, the citizens have in twenty elections voted on an average of eight initiative or referendum measures. Direct legislation was a major factor in nearly every election, and generally provided the most controversial issues. In the last election, for example, out of nineteen state ballot measures eight were initiatives, and four of these were highly controversial.

The public is inclined to view ballot measures, especially initiatives, with misgiving or outright suspicion. With so many measures submitted at every election it is impossible for the average citizen to be properly informed. The voters are asked to pass upon as many as 25 measures submitted by the legislature and seven or eight initiatives or referenda. Some of the propositions are lengthy and deal with complex problems. In addition the ballot sometimes contains an equally large number of local issues.

Since 1912 the voters have passed upon 118 initiatives, 34 referenda and 287 legislative propositions. They rejected 74 per cent of the initiatives and 45 per cent of the legislative measures. Hence, it is not unusual

for the voter to state his feelings with the phrase, "When in doubt, vote 'no'." In the last election, of eight initiative propositions, only two, the railroad crew featherbed and the pension proposition, were approved by a narrow margin. The remaining six were rejected by a substantial vote.

Initiative measures rejected over the years include public power proposals involving many hundreds of millions of dollars, propositions substituting the single tax for existing tax laws, proposals to legalize greyhound racing and betting, several local option liquor regulatory acts, and a variety of other subjects. While some measures were merely ill advised or poorly drafted, others were clearly unsound and would have had serious consequences if enacted.

The most significant feature of the initiative in the past twelve years has been promotion of various schemes of the "something-for-nothing" variety that promised elderly people a state pension to be paid for by ingenious and sometimes fantastic fiscal schemes. Pension promoters seldom allow an election to pass without qualifying a proposition for the ballot and, of course, raising hundreds of thousands of dollars for campaign expenses.

A number of groups have been organized among elderly people, and reports indicate they have raised

*Mr. Smith has been a member of the staff of the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research for a number of years. Now its director, he has served as the bureau's engineer and its assistant director, specializing in public utilities and public works. He is a registered engineer in the state of California.

substantial sums to campaign for pension plans. Not all these proposals have reached the ballot. One was disqualified by the State Supreme Court in 1948 after it had received sufficient signatures to qualify. These pension propositions generally involved unorthodox methods of raising the vast sums needed to meet their requirements.

Pension Promoters Active

In 1944 an initiative proposition proposed to pay \$60 monthly to all citizens 60 years of age or over. A 3 to 5 per cent gross income, or gross transactions, tax was authorized to pay the bill. The state director of public welfare estimated the annual cost as \$720,000,000, or \$20,000,000 more than the federal government's contributions to aged relief in the previous year. The pyramiding effect of the tax was one of its worst features.

In 1938 and 1939 initiative measures proposed life payments to unemployed or unemployables—"retirement life payments." The measures were more familiarly called "Ham n' Eggs" and "Thirty Thursday." The proposition proposed to pay \$30 every Thursday to every unemployed person over the age of 50. It came uncomfortably close to passing in the first attempt. A system of warrants was set up to pay the cost. Anyone holding one of these dollar warrants on Thursday would be required to fix a two-cent stamp to each such warrant. At the end of 52 weeks the stamps, bought with "hard" money, were supposed to clear the warrant and administrative expenses.

A watered down version of the pen-

sion series, Proposition No. 4, was approved last November by the slim margin of 37,000 votes out of 3,638,000 cast on the proposition. This measure increased monthly payments to the aged and blind, extended benefits to a much larger group by reducing the age of recipients to 63 years, eliminated relative responsibility and greatly increased the minimum assets permitted those qualifying for a pension. Among the worst features were administrative changes.

Act Names Director

Administration of both blind and aged aid was a local function under the former welfare act. The amendment transferred administration to a central state agency under a director of social welfare. It named the director to serve until 1951—one of the principal organizers of the group sponsoring the proposition. If the act is not repealed the director will be elected after 1951.

Previously the department was under the direction of a social welfare board appointed by the governor and an appointive director. The state agency reviewed the acts of the local authorities. Under the new setup the director of social welfare appoints the social welfare commission instead of the governor.

Medical treatment and hospitalization are provided also by the new act, the ultimate cost of which is an unknown factor. It further provides that funds needed shall be, in effect, a first lien on state funds, including school moneys. This provision was one of the grounds for opposition by parent-teacher associations, women's

clubs and teachers organizations, as well as business and tax groups.

The new welfare act increases old age payments from \$65 to \$75 per month (a \$5 monthly increase, to \$65, had been authorized by the legislature earlier in 1948), and blind aid from \$75 to \$85. This portion of the measure was estimated to increase annual costs by \$24,000,000 for the 200,000 recipients under the act repealed by Proposition No. 4.

It is the extension of benefits to a much larger group and the anticipation of a more liberal attitude that materially increases the costs. In the first few months since adoption of the law nearly 50,000 have been added to the rolls. The reduction in the age limit from 65 to 63, a substantial increase in the allowable assets a recipient may possess and elimination of all responsibility by relatives are primary factors that brought about official estimates of an increase in yearly costs of \$89,000,000 the first year, \$110,000,000 the next year and more in succeeding years when the measure is fully operative.

The long term effect of this measure is incalculable, as many persons believe it will tend to attract aged people from other states where old-age provisions are less liberal. The total cost of social welfare is set at \$212,303,000 in the state budget for the current fiscal year.

A repeal measure was quickly qualified earlier this year, and will come before the voters on November 8. This measure does not change the amount of aid from the \$75 for the aged and \$85 for the blind granted by Proposition No. 4, but

proposes to re-adopt administrative provisions existing prior to the adoption of No. 4, remove the subject from the constitution and return it to legislative control.

The next general state election in 1950 will, according to present indications, find the electorate facing the severest test yet encountered. It is reported that another something-for-nothing proposition will be revived by a coalition to include the forces that were successful in passing Proposition No. 4, the promoters of the "Ham n' Eggs" measures and Townsend plan organizations. The proposition said to be under consideration involves payment of monthly pensions of \$100 and legalizing gambling and bookmaking to raise the necessary funds.

The ghost of "Ham n' Eggs," "Thirty Thursday" and "Bill of Rights" so-called pension plans continues to haunt the citizens in spite of the success of Proposition No. 4. Probably because of the passage of this measure thousands of elderly persons will contribute funds to another campaign—funds that most can ill afford to give.

Constitutional Powers

The "first power reserved to the people" in the California constitution provides that if the secretary of state certifies that a petition submitted to him has been signed by 8 per cent of the qualified voters who voted for governor at the last gubernatorial election, the secretary must submit the measure to the voters at the next general election unless the governor calls a special election before then.

The constitution provides an alter-

native method for initiating legislation but it is used infrequently. A petition signed by 5 per cent of the qualified voters voting for governor, presented to the secretary of state not less than ten days before the start of a regular session of the legislature, together with a draft of the proposed law, must be transmitted to the legislature which must act within 40 days, either adopting or rejecting the measure without amendment. If not acted upon, the secretary of state shall submit it to the voters. The legislature also may pass and submit an alternative law to the voters at the same election.

Legislature Studies Revision

Thirty bills and proposed constitutional amendments affecting the initiative were considered by the 1949 legislature. The intention of the authors undoubtedly was to place restrictions on its use by selfish and unscrupulous minorities, but the general effect would have been to restrict all initiative proposals regardless of merit. Only one measure succeeded in passing both houses and the governor. It is a constitutional amendment, to be voted on at the November election, which prohibits naming candidates for public office in ballot measures. The immediate cause of this amendment was Proposition No. 4, in which the director of social welfare was named.

A majority of these measures proposed to achieve control by one of five or six methods. Suggestions included an increase in the number of signatures required to qualify a petition, an increase in the vote from a bare majority to two-thirds

of the votes cast on the proposition; submission at primary elections and resubmission at the general election if the measure received less than a two-thirds majority; elimination of paid professional petition circulators. Five proposed amendments would have required initiative propositions involving the expenditure of funds to provide for the raising of such revenue or to specify the tax source. The intention of the authors was to force the voters to vote for the taxes when they voted for the benefits of a measure. Proposition No. 4 again was responsible, as it left to the legislature the unwelcome task of raising the huge sums needed.

Some observers claim that the activity of the pension groups had an important bearing on the defeat of these measures. More important, perhaps, was the fact that there was no clearly expressed sentiment on the part of major newspapers or citizen groups for restricting use of the initiative.

Some Improvements Voted

A classification of the thirty-two initiatives approved by the voters since adoption of direct legislation—whether to improve government and in the public interest or to regulate an industry or group—gave these results:

Fourteen propositions were classified as regulatory, affecting a business, profession or sport—chiropractors, osteopaths, boxing and wrestling (two), commercial fishing (two), usury, land title laws (two), and the sale of intoxicating liquors (four). An initiative act approved last November repealed a railroad crew feather-bedding provision.

The most significant measures adopted in the interests of better government included: state budget reform, poll tax repeal, legislative reapportionment, permanent voter registration, a state civil service system, nonpartisan judicial elections (judges "run against their records" instead of opposition candidates) and three measures reforming certain phases of court and legal procedure. The 1926 legislative reapportionment amendment, establishing a federal system legislature and balancing legislative power between rural areas and urban centers, was among the most important pieces of legislation adopted in the last quarter of a century.

Signature Collectors

The development of professional petition circulation is an interesting phenomenon and an important factor in the success of most initiative or referendum measures in reaching the ballot. The number of issues that qualify probably would be greatly reduced without this professional assistance.

Any group with sufficient funds usually can qualify a measure for the ballot by employing professional petition circulators to get signatures. A San Francisco firm has been operating for 30 years under the guidance of one individual who claims he has taken part in or qualified 95 per cent of initiative and referendum measures that reached the ballot in that period. Elderly persons do most of the actual circulating for a small fee for each signature. This organization has been an almost indispensable factor

in the success of smaller groups who have backed petitions. It would be exceedingly costly, if not prohibitive, for each group to create a petition circulating organization for its measures.

The same organization often is employed by both sides in a controversial issue as the San Francisco firm has a virtual monopoly, at least in the northern half of the state. In the last election this firm was reported as assisting church and WCTU groups to qualify the local liquor control initiative, and the liquor interests, to qualify a measure for minor changes in the law relating to local control and enforcement. The sponsors of the 1948 blind and aged pension amendment employed it to secure signatures to qualify Proposition No. 4. The repeal movement found this same firm gathering signatures for its measure, although there was also some amateur circulation of these petitions.

The cost involved varies with the type and character of the measure, with difficult or less popular measures being more expensive. Information available indicates the minimum is about \$75,000 for a guarantee to secure the necessary 206,000 valid signatures to qualify a measure.

How Correct Weaknesses

The criticism most frequently heard concerning the initiative is that public opinion is not consulted. The situation surrounding preparation, drafting and promotion of an initiative may be compared to the "smoke filled room" tactics of politicians. Proposals for laws or changes in the constitution, affecting the

state's welfare and having far-reaching results, may be the work of only a few persons. Since neither representatives of the press nor the public are consulted, the public seldom knows who has had a hand in drafting or promoting propositions. State law requires that campaign expenditures be reported, but this information is not forthcoming until after the election. The only opportunity given the voters to register an opinion is when the measure reaches the ballot. If there are objectionable provisions the only recourse is to reject the proposal.

On the other hand, it is argued that the initiative was intended to provide a means whereby legislation could be taken to the public for action when legislative bodies failed to act, or when legislation is compromised or amended out of all semblance to its original intent. For this reason it is contended that participation of persons other than the sponsors would nullify the major purpose of direct legislation.

The answer to the riddle in California may be abandonment of the direct initiative in favor of the constitutional provision relating to proposals presented to the legislature by petition. As stated previously, if the measure is rejected or not acted upon, the secretary of state must submit it to the voters at the next election. But the legislature may submit an alternative proposal at the same election.

If this principle were applied also to constitutional measures, with some

modification, such as increasing the number of necessary signatures and requiring submission to the electorate, the ensuing legislative debates, press coverage and public participation would tend to clarify an issue and bring most of the essential facts into the open. The right of the legislature to submit an alternative also would give the voters a choice which they do not have at present.

MAYOR CHARLIE CUTS CORNERS

(Continued from page 436)

There was a row, of course. People said, who ever heard of two mayors? The politicians said that now at last Farnsley has really cut his own throat. But the scheme actually saved the city cash. Less than six months later the board of aldermen conceded the wisdom of the move, approved Owsley's salary.

There are three musts in Charlie's life. The first is the press conference which takes place each morning. He has moved the reporters right into his own suite and given them permission to prowl and snoop to their hearts' content. The talk with the press is a feet-on-the-desk affair, with Charlie asking as many questions as are asked of him. The second is the beef sessions. The third comes at dusk when he and two or three of his four children and Mrs. Farnsley stroll down to the end of their home on Confederate Place to watch the trains go by. "It's a fine place for train watching," he said.

Income Tax Aids Annexation

New levy helps Toledo reduce property taxes, making city attractive to suburbanites who also pay city payroll levy.

By R. T. ANDERSON*

THE virtues and evils of municipal income taxes are being much discussed as the result of efforts of cities to cure their fiscal troubles with direct levies on earnings. The financial relief afforded by this tax is usually the subject of the discussions. But there is another factor that probably is quite as important. In truth, its results may be far-reaching in shaping the pattern, size and character of the cities of tomorrow.

The anxiety for a secure home-stead that has driven many city dwellers to the country or suburbs may drive them back into the cities—by annexation, not removal. Falling real estate tax rates in cities levying an income tax may tumble scores of communities together into one large urban area, in a smooth, quiet trend without compulsion. Quite unexpectedly that trend has started to manifest itself in Toledo where the tax has been levied some four years.

Toledo was the second of the large cities to apply an income tax. The tax has been responsible for lowering real estate levies—now \$17 a thousand valuation, a rate lower than that of any other large city of the country.

There was a time when a city that

felt the need of expansion extended its borders by royal decree or the force of arms. American cities, deprived of those simple means of growth, usually have relied upon pressure of populations or economic interests.

Formerly, American cities had some leeway in determining what their city lines should surround. They had the power in some instances to annex without much fuss or ado. But, in more recent years, barriers have been thrown up in many states against extensive annexation without consent of the persons affected. In Ohio suburban areas have long been protected and a recently enacted state law makes almost impossible wholesale annexations.

Of course such laws grow in part out of the apprehension felt by small governments who sometimes see their taxable property slip away because of the greed of some urban neighbor, or because of the urgency of some improvement conceived by the big brother of the community.

The best motives have not always impelled cities to take over taxable property on their fringe. A few years ago, one official group toyed with the idea of annexing rich shipping and industrial properties lying just outside the city. Ordinarily there might be some reason for a move of this kind, if those industries or developments called upon the city for services such as power and water,

*Mr. Anderson, director of the Toledo Department of Finance since 1943, has been in the city's service since 1937. He is a member of the executive board of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada.

but these did not and never would need to.

The city in question would have gained materially from a tax standpoint because there was a very small population involved, few streets, few sidewalks and little protection needed. Annexation would have increased the city's property tax income up to \$100,000 annually, with little additional cost. A neighboring government, however, would have suffered from a depreciated income.

Toledo once studied a proposal to annex a large industrial belt about the city. Then it was learned that some of the township governments would be impoverished by the move, some schools would be sadly affected and a degree of ill-will would be generated that would outlive many city administrations.

But now the seizure of such properties by cities is barred in Ohio unless approved by a vote of the people in the entire unit of government affected. If a city seeks to annex half an adjoining township, it no longer is a matter of the desires of the city and of the inhabitants of the district to be annexed. The electorate of the entire township must vote on the question. A district initiating its own petitions of annexation, however, does not need the sanction of the rest of the district.

While the daily press, fast transportation, urban employment and the radio and telephone have pushed residents of suburban areas closer to their neighboring cities, usually these communities have remained aloof. They like the services found in the cities—hospitals, police protection, water systems and such—but there

almost always has remained one economic factor—the real estate tax—that has made isolationists of these bordering souls.

Suburban Advantages

While the cities have been bedeviled by high tax rates and sick financial pictures, the small communities, doing with less as a rule, have enjoyed tax rates about half those of the cities. It has been pleasanter, these communities felt, to do without some of the fine things of life if a little security is provided by a lower tax on the home.

It has been a pleasant situation for the suburban or rural dweller. If he wanted to send his son to a university, the nearby city maintained one. It might not be just exactly the university the boy wanted to go to, and there was a non-resident tuition fee that had to be considered, but withal it was cheaper than sending sonny elsewhere.

Then there is the museum, with its courses of study. The Toledo Museum of Art is completely endowed and calls for no tax support, but it is tax free. The hospitals in the cities are tax free too, and the investment there runs into millions of dollars.

These institutions are entitled to the protection rendered by a city government to its citizens, but liberation of these properties from taxation calls for an actual cash contribution from the taxing community. The suburbanite's domain, on the other hand, has few tax free institutions—the public schools and churches, and that probably is all.

This neighbor of the city actually

does avail himself of the services the city offers. In Toledo, for example, about one-third of the babies born in Toledo hospitals are of parents living outside the city and even outside the county. Toledo, foregoing taxes, is making possible the institution in which these children are born; a careful analysis would probably show that the city taxpayer actually bears some of the cost of caring for these babies and their mothers.

This, by the way, is not a complaint. Nevertheless, cities are rendering outside communities desirable service, and often contributing substantially to the care, comfort and well-being of their citizens.

Beyond that, the city provides fire, police and health protection to visiting workers, it maintains streets for suburbanites to use in going to and from their employment within the city and provides many other services to the daylight citizen.

The utilities problem, too, has gnawed at city administrations. Outside communities need factories, but these in turn tax to the limit the output of city-centered power systems, private or public, as well as water and sewer systems. The Toledo water plant, under state law, can and does charge 10 per cent more than urban rates for the services rendered outside the city. The city also escapes cost of construction and maintenance of distributing lines, an item borne by the water plant for service within the city. Toledo has not complained about this, for more factories in Toledo or just outside are much desired by an expanding city. Toledo's water system is not faced with any shortage since the source is Lake Erie, but

some cities scarcely have the water they need for themselves and are sorely pressed in trying to serve suburban communities.

As a result, possibly with an eye to annexation, it has become rather common for some cities to refuse these utility services outside the city. This has a tendency to drive surrounding communities into the city, but sometimes this forceful measure has not been successful and has engendered antagonisms.

The Picture Changes

For many years there has not been any substantial indication that this picture would ever change. Cities, it was believed, would be the victims of annexations that were sought by suburbanites only for the advantages to be gained. But annexations desired by the city from a tax standpoint would be stopped on every hand—and pretty largely were.

Unless special levies are voted by the people, communities of Ohio are restricted by constitutional provision to a one per cent levy on real estate, on tangible personal property and on properties of privately owned utilities. This one per cent, or ten mills, must be divided between city, school and county governments on a formula basis that renders for Toledo \$4.445 per \$1,000 tax valuation. Even supplemented by gas and auto taxes and allocations from state sales tax funds and intangible property taxes, Toledo and other Ohio cities have been unable to obtain enough money with which to operate.

Toledo's income tax ordinance provides for a stabilizing reserve fund.¹

¹For a further account of the Toledo

After major debt and operating allocations are made, income tax excesses go into this fund. Whenever it reaches about \$480,000, excesses beyond that are paid into the bond retirement fund, and the \$480,000 is turned into the city's operating fund. When this happens the city is obligated to reduce its operating levy rate of \$4.445 per \$1,000 accordingly, or approximately to \$3.445 per \$1,000. The levy released then may be allocated by the county budget commission to the county or the city school governments. It is now divided between the two. Thus, while the city operating rate is cut, the over-all rate levied in the city remains practically unchanged.

The Toledo school district extends beyond the city limits into some districts that have levied so much of the ten mills allowed for operating purposes that full advantage cannot be taken by the Toledo school district and the county of the mill released by the city.

When this situation was discovered, Toledo officials and school authorities joined in a program for extending the city boundaries to those of the school district. This would have provided use of the full rate released by the city. But Toledo's tax rate was high compared to some suburban townships, and the proposal was defeated by the township voters.

The next year Toledo had accumulated enough in its bond retirement allocation of the income tax fund to make it unnecessary for the city to levy the three mills previous-

ly required for debt service. Instead of meeting the bond obligations out of the real estate levy beyond the one per cent limitation the city met them out of accumulated income tax bond retirement funds.

New rumblings began to be heard in the suburban areas. One large district, looking at the increased services provided by the city under the income tax plan, and beholding the sharp reduction in taxes, circulated petitions for annexation. Since then eight separate suburban sections have petitioned for annexation and upon approval by the county commissioners and acceptance by the Toledo city council, these areas will become part of Toledo. Meanwhile, frightened at the turn of events, some groups surrounding Toledo have proposed the incorporation of a village up to the city's boundary.

Commuter Pays Income Tax

It is not the lower tax rate alone that has caused this change in view of suburban residents. Toledo's income tax is levied upon nonresident workers in the city as well as resident workers. Suburbanites who pay the income tax are goaded into a desire for new services such as they help pay for in Toledo. Meanwhile their own real estate levy has suddenly become greater than that in the city.

Toledo's tax rate will not sink to the one per cent operating limitation until levies voted for the county government and the schools expire. These represent approximately \$7.00 on \$1,000 valuation now. This keeps the city property tax rate slightly higher than some outlying communities and probably will continue to.

income tax see "Payroll Tax Boon to Toledo," by Ronald E. Gregg, the REVIEW, April 1949.

Still, it becomes obvious that the school problems of these smaller communities are driving their rates higher and higher.

Fifteen of the 45 taxing districts in the county have rates as high as or higher than Toledo's. One village has a rate of \$24. There are 28 districts with lower rates, running down to \$10 per \$1,000. Generally the lower rates are in communities not close to the city.

If Toledo's rate should drop further and as services and facilities improve, the desire of the outsiders to come inside will be greatly increased.

Strength will be added to this movement, it is almost certain, because Toledo has more and more with which to carry out needed programs—of course shared by the suburbanites who come to Toledo to work or play or study.

What Toledo Offers

The extent of the advantages that may be offered by Toledo to those who determine to join the Toledo community in fact as well as in spirit are these: zoning protection, adequate street lighting and cleaning, reduction in water rates, uniform waste collections, increased fire protection and lower insurance rates, increased police protection, reduced university fees, sanitation and health controls, supervised recreation for children and adults, centralized administration and lower real estate taxes.

New equipment and replacements in 1946, 1947 and 1948 included: 78 automobiles, jeeps and station wagons; 34 rubbish collection trucks; seven fire pumpers, two 100-foot aerial ladders; one ladder truck and one tractor; a complete new, two-way radio installation for police, fire, water division and fire station equipment; 20 motorcycles and ten sidecars. In all \$664,000 was spent for this purpose.

Public improvements already completed total approximately \$1,500,000, including bridges, parking meters, war memorial, soft ball stadium, civic center land purchases, a quarter million dollar pool and shelterhouse, extensive workhouse improvements and numerous other pool installations; new playgrounds and golf courses; veterans' housing; contagious disease hospital costing a quarter million; airport improvements and sewer and street improvements.

Beyond that, of course, is a backlog of cash for debt retirement that has placed Toledo almost in the class of debt free cities, excepting utility and special assessment obligations. This means that the advantages thus far created will be continued.

With this fortification of Toledo's position the quiet pressure of self-interest and taxes in the neighboring communities, no doubt, will continue to influence them to seek annexation to the city. From present appearances the leverage will be effective not only in the Toledo situation but also in that of other cities levying income taxes.

Old Father Penn's Weakling

War and unsympathetic officials aid in undermining civil service provisions for some Keystone State departments.

By H. ELIOT KAPLAN*

APOLOGISTS for the failure of the civil service merit system in Pennsylvania to get fully under way after its adoption, in August 1941, plausibly place the blame on the rather sudden entry of the United States into the war.

The new law, limited though it was to the so-called social security agencies required to be under a merit system by the federal social security act, the Liquor Control Board and the Civil Service Commission staff, nevertheless sought to establish for such agencies a modern system of personnel control on a merit system basis.

The law contained most of the provisions recommended in the *Model of a State Civil Service Law* sponsored by the National Civil Service League, the National Municipal League and the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. What was unfortunately lacking was full coverage of the state service, although the law authorized its extension to other state agencies as the legislature might decree.

Having gotten off to a poor start anyway, it was relatively easy for those who were out of sympathy with any proposal which impinged

on their patronage prerogatives to succeed in suspending operation of the new law for the duration of the war. This was done in early 1943, when war duration appointments were authorized.

The social security agencies continued to make appointments without competitive tests. Some agencies, particularly the Liquor Control Board, avoided the civil service rules. Many of the war duration appointees continued to serve notwithstanding the legislative mandate terminating such appointments after June 1947, and the direction to hold competitive examinations for them.

Even before 1947 the legislature, purporting to make the revived merit system law "more workable and practical," watered down the law. Its gravest error was to dilute the authority of the state personnel director and subordinate his authority—some might call it stripping his authority—by requiring all his acts to be under the "direction and supervision" of the Civil Service Commission.

The whole idea, so fundamental to sound administration of the civil service law and demonstrated by long practice in other jurisdictions, of confining the functions of the commission to policy-making, rule establishing and investigating operation of the system was undermined. The commission was patently made the administrative head though it

*From 1928 to 1948 Mr. Kaplan acted in the dual capacity of executive secretary of the National Civil Service League and of the New York Civil Service Reform Association. He is a teacher of public administration at New York University and a contributor to various publications in his field.

was clear from experience in Pennsylvania that the commission was not expected to have that training or responsibility, that the very nature of the commission's activities never contemplated more than a lay group of prominent citizens acting as overseers of the system.

It was originally deliberately designed to have the personnel director, who was expected to have a good working knowledge of the practices and techniques of personnel administration, to operate the merit system and be accountable for its success. With this basic change in the whole concept of administration of a modern merit system it was inevitable that the postwar revived "merit system" would at best hobble on crutches.

Commission Takes Over

Indeed, the Civil Service Commission has become so imbued with its apparent responsibility for the merit system's administration, and so confident of its capacity to manage the affairs of the agency—even on a part-time basis and substantially by remote control, that it has failed to select a responsible personnel director of experience and administrative capacity to carry on its operations as contemplated by the law.

The commission may be sincere in applying the merit system law, but it has neglected to supply the talent and the tools for doing so effectively. Sincerity alone is a poor substitute for adequacy and professional competence. In fairness to the commission it must be appreciated that it was never expected that its members would necessarily have such professional or technical capacity.

It is little wonder then that the administration of the merit system law in Pennsylvania has bogged down, even though the commission has had \$500,000 budgeted annually to operate a state system involving only 13,000 employees—about \$40 for each employee covered. What essentially has been happening to cast doubt on the efficacy of the merit system law in Pennsylvania and loss of confidence in its integrity?

To begin with, the commission's recruitment policies are hardly designed to attract through its examination procedures and practices the talent essential for maintaining a high standard of appointees. It appears to be concerned primarily with "overall evaluation" of candidates, discounting specialized training, knowledge and aptitudes, and ignoring the basic deficiencies of candidates as reflected in one or another basic battery of tests.

Following the poor practices in other inadequately administered jurisdictions, qualifications for admission to examinations, test techniques and similar devices are rather mediocre. Worse still, the commission has been much too slow in holding competitive tests for most positions which should long ago have been filled on a permanent basis. The result is that provisional (temporary) appointments, painfully slowly replaced, have been piling up to a point where it has become almost impossible for the commission with its limited staff of technically equipped employees to cope with the overwhelming examination program.

Without an adequate professional staff the commission could hardly

presume to function effectively in serving as a staff organization for the departments contributing to its maintenance and operation. The operating agencies, frankly, are not getting adequate return for their pro-rata share of the cost.

Too Many Provisionals

Although the 1947 amendment provided that competitive examinations shall be completed within one year after its enactment, June 1947, the commission has suffered the provisionals to continue indefinitely after the one-year lapse. The fact that the law permits provisional appointees thereafter to serve for only 90 days has been ignored; at least the commission has done little about it.

With the attorney general ruling that provisional appointees may serve indefinitely until replaced by appointments from eligible registers on a permanent basis, the field for perpetuating patronage appointments is wide open. Obviously pressure has been brought, and will continue to be brought, on the commission to delay the holding of examinations to enable provisional appointees to remain in their positions in the hope that ultimately they may be covered in without examination. In desperation the commission may be forced to yield to this pressure to unburden itself of the yoke it has placed over its own shoulders.

The commission has unnecessarily complicated its problems by purport-

ing to establish two eligible lists—one open competitive, the other a promotion list. With the use of promotion lists discretionary with the appointing authorities, and the commission virtually impotent in regulating their application, abuses have crept in, at least enough to cause suspicion of favoritism and to discourage those with potentially superior talent from competing for responsible public positions.

The civil service law in Pennsylvania, as is the case with practically all other civil service laws, requires the commission to implement the law with adequate rules. Only recently has any serious attempt been made to promulgate such rules, so that neither the commission nor the departments sought to be served by it—not to mention the employees whose rights and privileges are often directly involved—have known just where they stand under many provisions of the law which are vague and purposeless without such implementation.

The experiences of the state health department under the Pennsylvania merit system, as described in the survey made by the American Public Health Association, is undoubtedly typical of what is the situation in most departments and agencies under the Civil Service Commission's jurisdiction. It indicates alarmingly that the merit system in Pennsylvania, never flowering even in earlier seasons, will soon wither on the vine unless some drastic stimulating vitalizer is applied.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

14 State Capitals Choose Manager Plan

Columbia, S. C., Votes Two to One for Change

THE addition of **Columbia, South Carolina**, (1940 population 62,396) makes a total of fourteen state capitals that have adopted the manager plan, or 29 per cent of the 48. As state capitals vary greatly in size, this may be compared to 17 per cent of manager cities out of all cities with more than 2,500 population.

The fourteen capitals are: Phoenix, Arizona; Sacramento, California; Hartford, Connecticut; Dover, Delaware; Tallahassee, Florida; Des Moines, Iowa; Raleigh, North Carolina; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Salem, Oregon; Columbia, South Carolina; Austin, Texas; Montpelier, Vermont; Richmond, Virginia; and Madison, Wisconsin.

Columbia, on September 6, casting a popular vote of nearly two to one, adopted the council-manager plan, to take effect about June 1, 1950. The act provides that the manager must have had at least two years' experience as a manager or assistant manager. The council will consist of five members and will choose one member as mayor. At present four council members are paid \$4,000 dollars each, with the mayor receiving \$5,000. Under the manager plan the mayor will get \$2,000 and each councilman \$1,000.

Park Ridge (12,063) and **Western Springs** (4,856), both in **Illinois**, have adopted the manager plan by ordinance.

In **Hastings-on-Hudson, New York**, the village board has established the

office of clerk-manager by ordinance under home rule powers. The new officer, besides acting as clerk, treasurer and assessor, will have direct supervision over all other departments as designated by the board. Resignations of the clerk-treasurer and assistant treasurer occurred recently, following disclosure of shortages by a state audit.

Westbrook, Maine, will hold a referendum October 10 on the council-manager plan as provided in a bill passed at the last session of the Maine legislature.

At an election in **Saco, Maine**, on October 3 the voters will choose between a new council-manager charter and the present mayor-alderman charter somewhat amended. The Saco Civic Association advocates a change to the manager plan.

The fourth annual New England Managers' Institute, for town and city managers, was held August 29-September 1 at the University of Maine.

On September 13 **Claremont, New Hampshire**, voted to retain the council-manager plan by eleven to one.

In **Keene, New Hampshire**, the voters favored their present limited manager government over an improved charter giving the manager greater administrative power. The city's bicameral legislative body will be abolished as of January 1, 1950, under a legislative act providing a unicameral council of fifteen.

A popular vote on Plan E (council-manager plan with proportional representation) scheduled in **Chelsea, Massachusetts**, for November 8, is barred according to a ruling of City Solicitor A. E. Finger because of the legislative act prohibiting proportional

representation in new Plan E charters, which takes effect November 7. Since then, however, it has been brought out that the new legislation amends the wrong sections of the existing law, thus making it meaningless.¹ Gloucester and Somerville have Plan E scheduled for a vote in November.

The manager plan is under serious consideration in the town of **Reading, Massachusetts**.

In **Bergenfield, New Jersey**, Mrs. Frank Kalbac, independent candidate for council, states that she will join with other citizens who desire council-manager government, to bring about a referendum.

Three **Pennsylvania** newspapers actively advocate the council-manager plan—the **Danville News**, the **Mifflinburg Telegraph** and the **Greensburg Tribune**. The latter assails the League of Third Class Cities for failure to endorse even a weak form of council-manager government.

Petitions calling for a popular vote on a proposed council-manager plan in November have been filed in **London, Ohio**.

Petitions are being circulated in **Kearney, Nebraska**, to place the question of adopting the state's optional provisions for the council-manager plan on the ballot.

In **San Antonio, Texas**, signatures on petitions circulated by the People's Petition Committee, calling for an election on the manager plan, have already reached 10,000. This exceeds by 2,000 the number needed to place the question on the ballot.

Petitions requesting a vote on the council-manager plan have been filed in **Twin Falls, Idaho**, and an election has been scheduled for October 18.

Voters of **Modesto, California**, will ballot November 8 on a council-manager charter that has been drafted by

an elected board of freeholders. **National City** will also vote on a newly drafted manager charter.

The League of **California Cities** has undertaken a study of the principles and alternative choices that should be included in a council-manager ordinance, and expects likewise to prepare a statement of principles for inclusion in any city charter.

Midsummer conferences of **California** city managers, administration officers and their assistants were held in July—a northern meeting in Berkeley on July 8 attended by 40 and a southern meeting in Pasadena on July 15, at which 37 were present.

Detroit Gets Neighborhood Planning Act

Detroit has recently received authority to deal with urban blight as it sees fit. The Michigan legislature passed a neighborhood betterment act which was drafted by the city's corporation counsel assisted by the City Plan Commission. It is supported by the Michigan Municipal League.

The act is "designed to encourage co-operation of home owners and municipal governments in accomplishing together what neither can do alone," says George F. Emery, Detroit's planning director, writing in *The American City* for August.

The act establishes a procedure for preparation of a neighborhood betterment plan through efforts of both homeowners and the city plan commission. It provides for financing improvements by local special assessments through established city taxing procedures.

Property owners are protected against arbitrary or unwise action by taking part in drafting the betterment plan, by a council hearing and by the requirement that a majority of the owners agree to a special assess-

¹See page 461, this issue.

ment, payment of which may be spread over a period of years. Plans may include opening, widening or closing of streets or alleys, acquisition of playgrounds and parks, elimination of land uses which fail to conform to approved uses, rehabilitation of blighted areas, street tree-planting, etc.

Louisville Trains Students as Expert Administrators

Both the city of Louisville, Kentucky, and the University of Louisville benefit from an internship program by which a group of students in government administration work part-time in city departments.

"The city profits because it gets fresh intelligence at cheap rates," says the Louisville *Times*. In the university the teaching of public administration and political science is given broader and more realistic significance, and student interest in civic affairs is increased. The plan has completed its first year and is expected to be a permanent arrangement. Its founder is Dr. Reuel G. Hemdahl, professor of political science at the university.

Interns devote twenty hours a week to city work and receive \$75 a month from the city and four hours of academic credit in their university courses. According to Dr. Hemdahl:

"The students are moved from one responsibility to another in the various bureaus or divisions of the department during the year of internship, so as to receive an over-all view of departmental operations. They are furthermore given definite assignments. Thus they have an opportunity to handle raw data, deal with live situations and gain first-hand experience. Periodically they confer with me. They also are obliged to read in their field of activity and submit written reports both on their readings and their experience."

There were seven interns during the

past academic year, one of whom was engaged on a permanent basis before the year ended by the welfare department as assistant to the director. Another became acting chief examiner for the civil service board in July. Each of these two positions was at \$251 salary per month.

Placement of an intern in a city department is only at the request of that department. In the past school year interns were in the civil service, finance and welfare departments and the planning and zoning commission. For the ensuing year it is expected that all regular city departments will participate in the program except the health and law departments.

In a redrafting of the classification system for the city last spring a separate "class" for the university interns was added.

Consolidated Inspections Will Save for Milwaukee

A comprehensive study of Milwaukee's building inspection services has been completed for consideration by the city's board of estimate this fall.

One of several cities critically reviewing inspection practices, according to the International City Managers' Association, Milwaukee studied four departments—safety engineering and building inspection, health, fire and public works. As many as ten inspectors were found to be making routine visits to some buildings. Most frequent duplications were found to occur in sanitation and public health inspections and in fire prevention, building and safety engineering inspection.

Under recommended consolidation, with inspectional duties reassigned among the fire, health and building departments, building inspectors and building inspection supervisors could be reduced from 39 to 20 at a saving of \$100,000 annually. Milwaukee is

reported to have the highest number of building inspectors of any of the ten cities in its population group—500,000 to 1,000,000. St. Louis ranks second with 29.

Places which now have consolidated inspection services in the areas of general building, housing, hazardous occupancies, public assembly and condemnation include Baltimore, Kansas City (Missouri), Madison, Miami, Newark, Philadelphia, Seattle, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Los Angeles County and St. Louis.

Seattle Has Civic Promotion Committee

The city of Seattle, Washington, has recently established by ordinance a civic promotion committee to keep the public informed of operations of the various city departments and to seek to attract new industry to Seattle. It has already published a report on city activities, in the form of an eight-page tabloid section in each of the city's two daily newspapers. This included articles about Seattle's public works and planning programs, and an analysis of the distribution of the tax dollar to meet the costs of the city's numerous services.

Longer Terms Proposed for Cleveland Officials

The city council of Cleveland, Ohio, has acted to place before the voters at the November election a charter amendment to extend the terms of mayor and councilmen from two years to four years. The council vote was 29 to 3.

Mixed Results in Birmingham Annexation

On September 13, in a vote taken in Birmingham and adjoining areas on annexation, thirteen and a half square miles of unincorporated territory, in-

cluding about 6,500 people and several industrial plants, were annexed to the city. The annexation proposition was defeated, however, in all of the five nearby incorporated municipalities which voted separately. Actually, the total vote, including Birmingham and the municipalities in question, was in no case less than two to one in favor of annexation. But the legislative act providing the referendum had required that a majority be obtained both in the central city and in each of the satellite communities.

YORK WILBERN

University of Alabama

Culver City Grants Citizenship Awards

An annual system of citizenship awards, in recognition of commendable work of members of clubs, associations, fraternities or other groups within the city, has been instituted by Culver City, California.

An awards advisory board was established, consisting of the mayor, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and president of the school board. Recommendations for awards will be presented each year to this board by organizations within the city.

Reorganization Studies under Way in 16 States

Studies on governmental reorganization are reported under way in at least sixteen states and two territories. They include Arizona, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee and Wisconsin; and Hawaii and Puerto Rico.¹

¹Action by eight of these states was reported in the REVIEW, June 1949, page 294.

Oregon's new interim committee on reorganization is to study the need for revision of the constitution and propose a time for holding a constitutional convention in addition to recommending changes in administrative setup.

The governor in New Hampshire is authorized to examine organization of the state government and to determine what changes are necessary to reduce expenditures and promote economy. A reorganization commission of nine persons is provided to cooperate with and advise him in the preparation of plans. To supplement this assistance and the small appropriation of \$7,500, the governor has appointed some 21 others to an advisory commission. Fifteen subcommittees have been set up for specific tasks.

Puerto Rico's commission on reorganization is limited to the executive branch in its study of how to achieve efficiency and more economy. In Hawaii a subcommittee on governmental efficiency is to survey the organization and operation of all territorial and county departments.

Proposals for agencies to study reorganization were considered by the legislatures of Massachusetts and Ohio. Governor Paul A. Dever of Massachusetts recommended the creation of a nonpartisan commission to overhaul and streamline the state's governmental structure, unchanged in general since 1919.

Amendments Proposed to California Constitution

Voters in California will pass on eleven proposed constitutional amendments and one initiative statute (to provide for daylight saving time) on November 8. Ten of the proposed amendments originated in the legislature; one is an initiative proposal.

The first amendment would authorize

a \$250,000,000 bond issue to aid poor school districts unable to provide adequate facilities. Another would return administration of aid to the aged and blind to the counties and would re-enact welfare laws superseded by a recently adopted amendment (Article xxv).¹ The present elective director now having power over pensions would be supplanted by an appointive director.

A third proposal would increase legislators' salaries and expense allowances and limit the length of sessions. Other proposed amendments would repeal obsolete and inoperative constitutional provisions.

Easier Amending Process Sought in Illinois

Following the loss of the constitutional convention referendum proposal in the Illinois House of Representatives, by failure to obtain the necessary 102 votes although receiving a large majority, the legislature approved the so-called "gateway" amendment, which would liberalize the amending clause of the present constitution. At the same time it also adopted a separate ballot act designed to facilitate the passage either of an amendment or of a constitutional convention call. Popular referendum on the gateway amendment will be held in November 1950.

Ohio Group Seeks Office Type Ballot

A group of public spirited citizens in Cleveland, Ohio, has organized under the name of the Committee for Adoption of the Office Type Ballot. Its purpose is to circulate petitions throughout the state to obtain a popular vote on adoption of the so-called Massachusetts or office-type ballot,

¹See also page 437, this issue.

where candidates are grouped according to the offices for which they are running. Ohio uses party grouping.

Arizona Civil Service Law Unconstitutional

The state civil service law adopted by the voters of Arizona last November has been declared unconstitutional by the Arizona Supreme Court on various grounds of rather technical character. A new act, designed to meet the court's criticisms, is being drafted.

Oklahoma to Vote on Constitutional Convention

The governor of Oklahoma has signed a resolution, recently adopted by the legislature, providing for submission of the question of calling a constitutional convention to the people on November 7, 1950.

Kentucky's New Welfare Department Succeeds

The Department of Economic Security, created by the 1948 Kentucky General Assembly,¹ to integrate unemployment insurance, state employment service, child welfare and public assistance, is showing greater effectiveness at less cost. During the first year of its operation the unemployment insurance and employment service program saved more than \$133,000 in administrative costs alone and all divisions stayed within their budget for the year. The Kentucky agency was the only one in the United States that did not find it necessary to request a deficiency appropriation from Congress for administration of the employment security program this year, according to the American Public Welfare Association.

In the same period, unemployment

¹See the REVIEW, July 1948, page 380.

insurance claims handled by the department increased 120 per cent while aid to dependent children rose 31 per cent. Old age assistance was up 6 per cent and aid to the needy blind rose 5 per cent.

Limit on Local Legislation Urged in Maryland

The Maryland Legislative Council has prepared a new rule, which will be proposed to the legislature, to bar local bills at special sessions. The League of Municipalities emphasizes that a great deal of the time of the legislators is taken up with local legislation and points out that the League's home rule program would mean a large reduction in this type of detail work.

The legislative council has also adopted a policy which limits bills at the 30-day sessions in 1950 and subsequent even-numbered years to the annual budget, financial measures of an acute emergency nature and emergencies affecting the welfare of the entire state.

A constitutional change providing for the short sessions in alternate years was approved by the people last fall, but although designed to permit legislative action on state finances it did not specifically restrict topics. According to *State Government*, a recent interpretation of the law by Attorney General Hall Hammond holds that bills to be presented at the short session must conform to the three categories established by the legislative council.

Conference and Exhibit on Governmental Purchasing

The National Institute of Governmental Purchasing will hold its fourth annual conference and products exhibit in Cleveland, Ohio, at the Hotel Cleveland, October 23-26.

County and Township Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Counties Seek New Charters

Manager Plan Discussed by Citizens and Boards

NEW charters, with emphasis on the manager plan, are being discussed in many communities.

Buchanan County, Missouri, will vote November 8 on a proposed charter providing the council-manager plan (see the May 1949 REVIEW, page 243).

The county commissioners of Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, have voted in favor of a referendum November 8 on the question, "Shall a county charter commission be chosen?"

The Citizens League of Cleveland already has announced a slate of fifteen candidates whose names will be placed on the ballot at the same election. If the voters by a simple majority vote indicate their approval of the question, the charter commission, elected simultaneously, will have ten months in which to prepare the new county charter. The Citizens League has been working for approximately two years to secure a vote on the question.

If the county succeeds in securing a home rule charter, it will be the first in the state to operate under the county home rule provisions of the constitution which have been in effect since 1933. A manager charter submitted to Cuyahoga County voters in 1935 received a majority vote. It was declared void by the courts, however, which ruled that because of certain of its provisions it needed a four-way majority to become effective.¹

In Virginia, the newest county to

consider adoption of the plan is Fairfax, which adjoins the highly successful manager county of Arlington. In reply to a request for a manager referendum, however, made by Harold A. Ward, former president of the County Federation of Citizens Associations, the board of supervisors has declined to place the question on the ballot. It agrees that a change is necessary, because of the county's rapid growth, but feels that the move should start with the voters. Mr. Ward announced he will circulate petitions to place the question on the November ballot.

The Loudoun County board of supervisors on July 21 approved submission of adoption of the manager plan to the voters, but on August 25 it rescinded this action by a three to two vote. On a prior occasion the residents of Loudoun County petitioned for such a referendum, but the circuit court held the signatures to be inadequate. Activities in Prince William County looking toward adoption of the executive plan were described in this section last month.²

A committee of the St. Louis County Charter Commission, appointed to draft a home rule charter, has reported a reorganization plan which does not include provision for a manager. *The St. Louis Globe Democrat* has criticized the report and emphasized that the commission should examine the advantages of the manager plan.

The present proposal would replace the county court with a five-man board of supervisors four of whom would be elected by districts with the chairman elected at large. The elective offices of county clerk, recorder of deeds, auditor, assessor,

¹See the REVIEW, March 1936, page 189.

²See page 407.

collector and treasurer would be abolished. The functions of the collector, treasurer, auditor and assessor would be consolidated in a department of finance. A records department would assume the functions now exercised by the recorder of deeds and the county clerk.

The Globe Democrat emphasizes that the new charter should include also provisions for the merit system, strengthened county zoning, county-wide fire and police protection and the development of recreational facilities.

Following a negative report from one of its committees, the King County (Washington) Advisory Charter Commission has decided against consideration of the commission plan. The chairman of the study committee pointed out some of its disadvantages—inadequate purchasing control because of independent department heads and the possibility of "log rolling" among the commissioners.

The Seattle Municipal News, in urging a discussion of provisions to be included in the proposed King County charter, published a letter from a local citizen who urged inclusion of the manager plan. The correspondent would increase the size of the county board from three to twelve members, elected at large on a nonpartisan ballot for staggered six-year terms. This board would appoint the manager, pass judgment on his policies and approve his appointments. The manager in turn would appoint, subject to confirmation by the board, a county engineer, health officer, auditor and treasurer. The assessor, purchasing agent, coroner, clerk of court and sheriff also would be appointed by the manager but with confirmation by the superior court judges.

The Democratic candidate for county executive of Westchester County,

New York, William C. Fitts, Jr., advocates adoption of the county manager plan. Speaking before a meeting of the Greenburgh Democratic Committee, Mr. Fitts declared himself in favor of abolishing the county's 45-member board of supervisors for a council of nine which would appoint a manager on the "basis of merit." Westchester County now elects a county executive as chief administrative officer under its 1938 charter.⁸

City County Consolidation Discussed in Three States

The consolidation of county governments with their major cities is under discussion in Oregon, Ohio and New Mexico.

Cleveland is considering consolidation of all its functions with those of Cuyahoga County. This suggestion is embraced in a proposal by the Cleveland Planning Commission. The commission emphasizes that Cleveland taxpayers are furnishing the entire area with welfare institutions, airports, auditorium and stadium, lake front development, zoo, freeway, rapid transit, sewers and sewage disposal, water supply and harbor developments.

The commission does not believe, however, that it is necessary for the city and county to be consolidated in a single step. It points out that the same result may be achieved by piecemeal functional consolidation.

The advocates for consolidation of Portland, Oregon, with Multnomah County are stimulating much discussion of the problem in that area. Opponents also have been active. Their major point of argument is that Multnomah County contains too much rural area for effective consolidation. They argue that the city should not

⁸See "Westchester Likes Executive," by Hugh W. Robertson, the REVIEW, May, page 219.

administer traditionally rural functions and that a consolidated city-county would be a threat to adjoining counties. They urge that an adequate solution can be found merely in expansion of the present city to embrace the urbanized sections immediately beyond its present boundaries.

In New Mexico, where the people of the state voted on ten proposed constitutional amendments on September 20, amendment No. 6 permits city-county consolidation in all counties containing a population of 50,000 or more. The residents of such city and county, voting separately, may by majority vote bring about consolidation of all their local governmental units. The newly established city-county would have the power to frame a charter for its own government. At the present time the proposed amendment is applicable only to Albuquerque and Bernalillo County.

Wisconsin Expands County Authority

The 1949 session of the Wisconsin legislature enacted over 40 statutes affecting the authority of counties, most of them expanding it. All the statutes are specific in the authority granted; a few apply only to urban counties.

Many statutes authorize appropriation of additional funds, levy of additional taxes and issuance of bonds because of increased costs and expanded activities. Counties, cities and towns are authorized to issue bonds jointly for airport purposes. Authority to apply funds for war memorials is expanded. Milwaukee County is authorized to acquire, build, furnish and rent housing to low income families, as well as to appropriate money for group entertainment of children on Halloween.

Other legislation permits counties to zone, with the planning to be done by park commissions or rural planning boards on instructions from county boards and with final approval reserved to the towns in the respective counties. Counties of 50,000 or more are authorized to employ a corporation counsel. Also county boards may provide group insurance for all county officers and employees. They may establish small claim courts and take emergency action to suppress and control insect pests, weeds and plant or animal diseases. They are authorized to accept federal grants for abatement of water pollution. Finally, Wisconsin county boards are authorized to hire county recreation directors.

The Wisconsin County Boards Association, in a recent issue of *Wisconsin Counties*, indicated its approval of this expansion of county authority, but declared, "It is hoped that at some not too far distant date at least a partial home rule law can be secured for county governmental operations which will eliminate the need for the multitude of laws governing special authorizations."

Hazards—or Opportunities— of County Politics

When Mrs. Fern Camel, a widow, decided to run for treasurer of Hale County, Texas, and Carroll Bird decided to run for commissioner, they little realized what political activity had in store for them. They met while they were campaigning, each was elected to his and her respective office, and now the two projects have culminated in their marriage. Presumably, harmonious relationships should exist between the office of the county treasurer and at least one segment of the board of commissioners.

Proportional Representation . . .*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

**Germany Holds
National Elections****Uses Combination of Single
Member Districts and P. R.**

THANKS to the P. R. feature of the new German election system, representation in the *Bundestag* (lower house) has been accorded to substantially every important element in each of the eleven states of the German Federal Republic in approximate proportion to the votes cast. The election, held August 14, was the first free national election in Germany since 1933. The three largest parties together drew 72 per cent of the votes and obtained 80 per cent of the seats. Nearly 80 per cent of the registered voters participated.

Seats were initially apportioned to the eleven states on a population basis. Three-fifths of these seats were filled by single-member-district elections. Each voter cast his ballot for the candidate of his choice in these districts. The remaining seats were then distributed in each state among the recognized parties so as to give each as nearly as possible its proportional share on the basis of the single-member-district vote cast in that state. A party failing to obtain 5 per cent of the vote cast in the state, however, was not entitled to share in the distribution of these so-called "reserve list" seats.

In this distribution the seats obtained by a party on a single-member-district basis were counted toward its proportional share, but if a party obtained more seats on a district basis alone, it was entitled to retain the

excess and the excess was added to the total number of seats for the state. Thus, although the delegations were initially apportioned among the states to provide a chamber of 400 members, the actual number of representatives chosen on August 14 was 402.

In a few states the party with the greatest following obtained all its seats in the district election. This was accomplished by the Christian Social Union in Bavaria, where it obtained 34 per cent of the seats with 29.2 per cent of the vote. A corresponding result was obtained by the Christian Democratic Union in Württemberg-Baden and by the Social Democrats in Lower Saxony—in this case with a slightly greater excess over proportionality.

The Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union, which are essentially two regional wings of a single party led by Dr. Konrad Adenauer, polled 31 per cent of the vote cast in the entire republic. The Social Democrats obtained 29.4 per cent of the total vote and the Free Democrats, a previously little known party outspokenly favoring a free enterprise economy, emerged as the third largest party, with 11.8 per cent of the vote.

By comparison with the state elections of 1947, the two leading parties lost ground somewhat in the percentage of the vote attracted. Not only the Free Democrats but also a number of conservative and nationalist parties of small size gained in strength, obtaining a few fair sized delegations in one or two states but only a small proportion of the seats in nationwide perspective.

The election forecast a coalition of moderate and non-socialist parties led by the Christian Democrats. Such a coalition promptly took form and elected Dr. Theodor Heuss of the Free Democrats as first president of the federal republic on September 12. Dr. Adenauer of the Christian Democrats became the first prime minister on September 13.

Dr. Heuss failed to get elected in his home district but secured a place on the Württemberg-Baden delegation by virtue of the reserve list. In a similar manner the national leader of the Communists secured a reserve list seat although his party won no district elections. The reserve list was responsible for the entire Free Democratic delegation of seven from Bavaria as well as for the twelve members of the extreme right Economic Reconstruction party also elected in Bavaria. The Free Democratic party would appear to have been an important beneficiary of the reserve list device, for it seems to have won few of its 52 seats on a district basis.

The Communist vote showed the greatest proportional decline, falling to a mere 5.7 per cent. The Communists met the 5 per cent requirement for reserve list seats in only five of the eleven states, garnering but 3.7 per cent of the total seats. In the 1947 state elections the Communists drew 9.5 per cent of the votes.

Three independent candidates were elected. Ballots cast for candidates of a party not officially recognized do not participate in the distribution of reserve list seats. One of the independents elected ran as the candidate of the Refugees Emergency Association, which offered a number of candidates and polled about 17 per cent of the votes in Württemberg-Baden. Since it failed to get official recognition as a party it was not per-

mitted to elect reserve list candidates. The association protested this was unconstitutional.

The German election system is similar to Denmark's of many years ago. Its provision for some district elections with a proportion-correcting reserve list election seems to have relieved one of the unsatisfactory characteristics of the particular type of proportional representation system used for many years in Germany—the inability of the voter to express a preference for a particular candidate rather than for a party slate. This is a defect that the Hare system avoids entirely and which is minimized by the party list system of P. R. in Norway, for example, and to a lesser extent in Belgium and the Netherlands.

'Boner' May Save P. R. Law in Massachusetts

Unless the courts correct the defect, the law prohibiting more Massachusetts cities from adopting P. R. for council, and school committee as part of Plan E¹ is void because of an error in drafting. According to an editorial in the *Boston Herald* of September 9:

"The much discussed law to prohibit proportional representation in Plan E elections now turns out to be a dud. Because of careless drafting it amends the wrong section of existing law and is totally meaningless. This is the culminating stupidity in a stupid proceeding."

"The result, presumably, is that P. R. is saved for another year. Unless the courts ignore the plain meaning of the words used and declare the mere intent of the legislature to be the law, the P. R. sections of Chapter 43 will remain the same as they were before the legislature met."

¹See the REVIEW, September, page 409.

The act intended to repeal the P. R. provisions by referring to sections 93 to 116. It reads, however, sections 93 and 116, neither of which makes reference to P. R.

This means that the voters of Chelsea, Somerville and Gloucester, where petitions had placed Plan E on the November ballot, may have an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the question.

Yonkers Recount Elects Woman Mayor

Mrs. Edith P. Welty, vigorous independent member of the Yonkers city council since first elected by P. R. ten years ago, became mayor of New York's fifth city on September 12. Curtiss Frank, who had been elected mayor by a majority preferential recount of the P. R. council ballots at the regular election two years ago, had resigned for business reasons and Mrs. Welty was chosen for the remainder of his term by another recount of the same ballots. She will have no administrative duties but will be president of the council and political and ceremonial head of the city. The chief administrator is City Manager Donald C. Wagner, former manager of Long Beach, New York.

Before filling the mayoralty vacancy it was necessary to fill Mr. Frank's place as a member of the council. For this purpose just the quota of ballots which elected him in 1947 and the ballots which did not elect any candidate were recounted, the others being still represented by the remaining councilmen.

This recount first sorted all the ballots in question according to their earliest choices for candidates not elected in 1947, and then eliminated the lowest candidates one by one and transferred their ballots to the next available choices marked on them until

only two candidates were left. Mayor Frank being a Republican endorsed by the independent City Manager League and Municipal League, it was not surprising that the winner in the final count was another candidate with the same endorsements, Frederick S. Carey, even though Mr. Carey had not fared particularly well with Mr. Frank running in 1947.

Mr. Carey, however, was taken completely by surprise. Discovering that he would have to resign the presidency of the municipal civil service commission if he accepted the unexpected honor for the short balance of the year, he withdrew and the count had to be repeated. The candidate then elected was the runner-up at the 1947 election, also a member of Mr. Frank's party but without his independent endorsements, Charles A. Palmer.

Having chosen the seventh councilman the counting force proceeded to select the mayor by sorting all 54,000 valid council ballots cast at the 1947 election according to their earliest choices among the seven councilmen and then eliminating the lowest councilmen one by one, transferring their ballots to the next choices marked, until all the ballots were sorted according to their preferences between the two highest contenders.

Mrs. Welty, who like Mayor Frank is a Republican and had his independent endorsements but did not have the official backing of her party's organization, led from the first count but was almost overtaken by Vice Mayor John J. Whalen, leader of the Democrats in the council and runner-up for mayor at the regular election two years ago. The last transfer involved 12,000 ballots of a defeated Democratic councilman, Emmett Burke, which naturally went predominantly to Mr. Whalen. At the beginning of the transfer Mrs. Welty had

a lead of about 5,000, which showed that she was definitely in danger, but she was marked next choice on some 1,600 of the Burke ballots and many of them showed no choice for either her or Mr. Whalen. The final count was Welty 20,587, Whalen 20,310. Mr. Whalen as the runner-up will continue as vice mayor.

The three recounts were conducted in the large Yonkers armory by an experienced force of approximately 30 canvassers under the supervision of Mr. Hallett of this department, who has conducted all but one of the P. R. counts in Yonkers. The counters did their work carefully and expeditiously. The two council recounts were completed in two long days and the mayoralty recount in one long and one short day of counting.

Yonkers voted last fall to abolish P. R. and the next council is about to be elected by wards after partisan primaries by the ordinary plurality method. The mayor will be elected separately from the whole city in the same way. Yonkers citizens are already comparing the prospective council with the present one elected by P. R. and there is talk of trying to bring P. R. back.

One interesting item of comparison is available already. Mrs. Welty, just before she became mayor, was defeated for re-election to the council in the Republican primary in her ward—the usual fate of independents in poorly attended primaries. Under P. R. no primaries are necessary and the real wishes of the larger electorate are accurately reflected in the one final election.

Another Vacancy Filled in Cambridge

The death a few months ago of Robert J. Reardon resulted in a vacancy on the proportionally elected

school committee of Cambridge, Massachusetts. A recount of the ballots originally electing Mr. Reardon, in accordance with the P. R. provisions of the Cambridge Plan E charter, resulted in the election of Francis J. McCrehan.

The *Boston Herald* on July 27 reported: "The redistribution, by the election commissioner, took only five hours and involved no extra expense to the city. This was the second time this year that the Plan E system for selecting a successor to the deceased officeholder has been invoked. The saving to the city, by elimination of special elections, has amounted to about \$35,000."

Toledo to Vote on P. R. Abandonment

At the election on November 8 Toledo voters will be confronted with the question of discarding proportional representation for election of council under its manager charter. This is the fourth attack on the system—either with or without the manager plan being involved.

The proposed amendment has been placed on the ballot by the city council. Sponsored by the chairman of the Democratic county executive committee, it provides for nomination of eighteen candidates for council at an October primary and election of nine at the regular November election. Both elections would be at large.

P. R. League Meeting

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League will be held in St. Paul on November 29 in connection with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League. Headquarters will be at the Hotel Lowry. The program will be reported in this department for November.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Berkeley Studies New Taxes

Civic Group Urges Change for Balanced Tax System

COMPLETING a study of the city's financial needs and present revenue system, the Berkeley (California) Citizens' Taxation Committee recommends a program for providing adequate revenues to finance current expenditures and allow accumulation of reserves for recurring capital improvements. At the same time it makes recommendations for reducing property tax levies slightly from their post-war high levels.

Among the committee's recommendations are a city amusement tax of 5 per cent, a new business license tax based on net income to replace a present business and professions tax based on the number of employees, and prompt action to secure from the University of California and other state institutions in Berkeley fair and reasonable payments for city services rendered them.

Noting that one of the city's problems is that it must provide services for the large university student body, now numbering nearly 25,000, which mainly has legal residence elsewhere and so does not contribute to the permanent population base used in computing state aid, the committee recommended an amusement tax as an equitable method of reaching this group to at least a limited extent. The tax proposed was one cent for each twenty cents charged for admission.

The city's present tax on business and the professions, enacted during the war when similar taxes were being

imposed in areas with federally-owned war production plants, is based on the number of workers. The tax starts at \$15 for one individual, descends to a rate of \$3 for each of the next nine employees, and \$1.50 for each additional employee. Noting the obviously regressive nature of the tax, the committee states that receipts from it have served to lower the city tax rate about ten cents per hundred dollars of assessed valuation, a factor making it mathematically demonstrable that large employers who are also large taxpayers may save substantially under the business tax as compared with the alternative ad valorem levy they would otherwise pay.

A three-man establishment in its own building assessed at \$5,000, for example, "saves" \$5 in taxes but pays \$21 in business license, while a 100-man shop assessed at \$250,000 would pay only \$177 in license, a saving of \$73 on the property tax alternative.

To eliminate the discriminatory feature against the small operator, and to provide a basis for the tax more compatible with ability to pay, the committee recommended substitution for the existing business and professions tax of a business and professions net income tax. The city already levies a retail sales tax, adopted in 1946 and levied on all sales except food, at the rate of one-half of one per cent. The present business and professions licenses yielded about \$110,000 in 1947-48 and the retail sales tax \$364,000.

No basis is suggested for securing service or other payments from the university and other state agencies in the city, since negotiations with the affected officials and permissive state legislation are necessary before any

Proposals can be seriously advanced. The report urged as a basis for negotiation that some reasonable charges should at least be paid for fire and police protection, sewage service and other miscellaneous services.

Besides recommending these principal additions to the local revenue system, the committee studied—but made no specific recommendations for city adoption—cigarette and tobacco taxes and sewer service charges.

The city's expenses in 1947-48 were roundly \$4,600,000, the committee noted, an increase of \$2,400,000 compared with ten years ago. Half the increase has been financed by increasing property taxes, the assessed valuation being raised from just under \$90,000,000 to nearly \$113,000,000 and the city purpose tax rate increased from \$11.75 per \$1,000 for 1938-39 to \$18.65 for 1947-48.

The committee estimated that with its proposals for a revision in the revenue system, the city rate could probably be reduced to \$17.40 per \$1,000, and ultimately, perhaps, to a lower amount.

Admitting that major projects may still require the issuance of bonds, the committee recommended nevertheless that "revenue should be kept at a level high enough to permit the city to earmark each year sufficient funds to finance essential capital replacements and improvements."

Index-gearied Salary Bonuses Cut

The modest decline in the consumers' price index during the forepart of the year has brought grief to at least a small segment of the populace: public employees in a handful of local governments which have salary or cost-of-living bonus schemes tied in with the movement of the price index.

According to reports, the first jurisdiction to act was Westchester County,

New York, where some 2,500 employees immediately started to fight the decrease and sought to make the cost of living bonuses part of the permanent pay schedule. Madison, Wisconsin, is reported also to have given preliminary approval to reductions in pay in accordance with a cost-of-living adjustment scheme.

The only substantial salary reductions reported to have been made on public salaries under a cost-of-living adjustment program are those of St. Paul, Minnesota, which adopted its wage formula in 1922 and reduced city salaries 16 per cent between 1931 and 1933 under the formula. About twenty cities are known to have such schemes today, including Milwaukee and four small Wisconsin cities. Portland, Oregon, Dearborn and Jackson, Michigan, Brookline, Massachusetts, several small California cities, three Minnesota counties, and Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona.

Housing in Lieu Payments to Rise

Cities may receive substantially larger payments in lieu of taxes from local housing authorities under amendments to the federal housing law enacted by the 81st Congress. Where the 80th Congress had outlawed all such payments except where provided in the original agreements, the new amendments authorize retroactive payments to equal the difference between whatever might have been paid in lieu of taxes for the last two years and 5 per cent of the yearly shelter rent from the housing projects. The federal housing agency is authorized to reimburse local authorities for all retroactive payments to the cities.

The new law also provides that payments in lieu of taxes may be made up to 10 per cent of the yearly shelter rent, beginning this year. These

payments are permissible in the case of old projects, even where the original agreements may have been for lower amounts, as well as applying to any of the 810,000 units to be built under the new housing law. About 230 cities are estimated to be affected by the more liberal payments now permitted, and it is expected that about \$1,300,000 in retroactive payments alone will be distributed to them.

Michigan Townships Can't Pay Citizens' Taxes

Michigan officials have killed the goose that was laying golden eggs for some taxpayers.

A ruling of the state's attorney general has made it illegal for townships to pay county property taxes for citizens, the Municipal Finance Officers Association reports. About a dozen townships had been found relieving their taxpayers' burden by paying their property tax from the township's share of sales taxes from the state.

In ruling the practice illegal, the attorney general noted that taxes are a private debt which must be paid by the individual. Paying them with township funds is a misuse of public funds. In one township which has not discontinued the practice, the question is before the county grand jury.

By FOR CALIFORNIA

(Continued from page 432)

ter, lie outside the limelight of adequate public scrutiny. He pursues private programs in obscure fields where the people have the nominal opportunity to express opinion but have no opinions to express.

The old machines did the same thing; the primaries, initiative and other remedies for bossism have left

complicated a field that needed simplification if the people were not to be perennially hoodwinked.

The remedies used to combat the old style of bossism can deal adequately with the new type boss.

Governors are conspicuous and above the reach of Samish; give the governor power to appoint the six obscure junior state officers and the State Board of Equalization, which is now elected, one from each of four large districts plus the (elective) controller.

In California and all other states except single house Nebraska, legislators are obscure small fry. Their joint powers are divided into trivial bits. They cannot be put into the limelight of public scrutiny as long as there are so many of them. Capable men are rarely attracted to such service. Nebraska's success should be emulated by California and the other states.

The initiative is badly abused in California. So many questions are submitted that Samish's billboard can misrepresent a question as having something to do with "Mother." The long state constitution includes masses of statutory matter requiring submission of incessant amendments. Current efforts may simplify that battleground.

A statewide uncapturable self-renewing civic committee to assert the general interest against the special interests, to keep and publish records of legislative candidates and to make better use of the opportunities of the improved political battleground could perform a great service in such a confused situation.

Citizen Action *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Local Groups Endorse Candidates

Seek Election of Councils Pledged to Good Government

IN Worcester, Massachusetts, which will hold its first P. R. election for council and school board in November, the Citizens Plan E Association is preparing to endorse candidates for both bodies. Its board of directors has appointed a candidates' review committee to recommend slates for its approval and endorsement. Headed by Gerald F. O'Neill, the committee is interviewing prospective candidates, giving them a chance to express their convictions on government under the new Plan E charter. Standards have been adopted by the board for the committee's guidance.

At a recent meeting of the association Mr. O'Neill presented a procedure for endorsing candidates as prepared by George McLaughlin, former president of the Cambridge Civic Association and the State Plan E Association:

"Induce well known civic figures to become candidates for council and school committee and assure these candidates of the support of the association.

"Interview all candidates for office publicly. In this manner many candidates will eliminate themselves by publicly declaring themselves unfit for office by their answers to these questions:

"What do you believe you may contribute to the city in the next two years?

"Plus questions of local importance

and the thinking of candidates on these issues.

"Endorsement need not pledge candidate on any specific question."

Elections by proportional representation will take place for the first time in three Massachusetts cities in addition to Worcester—Medford, Revere and Quincy. The Medford Plan E Civic Association has been interviewing candidates for the council and school board to select a slate for its endorsement. The Quincy Civic Association also plans to endorse candidates.

In Cambridge, where Plan E has been in effect since 1942, Donald Spencer, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, has asked candidates desiring the backing of that group to apply for interviews. In the proportional representation election of 1947, five of the nine candidates elected to the council had the association's endorsement.

The Cincinnati City Charter Committee has announced its "Silver Jubilee" ticket for councilmanic elections in November. Nominees, with a brief account of their backgrounds, are listed in the July issue of *The Charter News Letter*. Leonard M. Sive, chairman of the nominating committee, said, "It is significant that the City Charter Committee this year, as it celebrates its 25th anniversary, should present one of the strongest, ablest and best balanced slates of candidates in its entire history."

Citizens' Searchlight of Grand Rapids, a newcomer in the field of civic endeavor—organized in January—rated candidates prior to the February primaries and April election. The Very Reverend H. Ralph Higgins, a mem-

ber of the group's central committee, reports on the methods used:

"We have, of course, only been in existence a short time, but in the two elections so far covered we have operated as follows: The committee on candidates (about 25 persons) meets and each member is handed a rating scale for each candidate to be considered. The chairman then reads the answers given by the candidate to each question on the candidate's questionnaire. On the basis of this material, plus any additional information forthcoming from members of the committee on candidates, each member of the committee awards the number of points he thinks proper.

"The section covering personality data receives the special attention of the committee on interviews, which reports to the committee on candidates at the proper moment; the number of points is then set down by each member of the committee on candidates in the same way as the other material. When a given candidate is completely covered the secretary calls on each member of the committee to state the total number of points awarded and marks the percentage on a blackboard. When each member of the committee has reported his percentage award the total number of points is divided by the number of committee members doing the evaluating and the candidate is awarded the median percentage."

Another group which reports on candidates is the Citizens League of Detroit, whose September *Civic Searchlight* is devoted to "factual information in regard to candidates and, in some cases, ratings as viewed by the league's committee on candidates." "For 37 years," says the *Searchlight*, "the league has served its members not as a political committee but as a fact-finding agency. In most cases the

voter himself must decide what candidates to support. We often endorse candidates who have no hope even of nomination, and refuse approval to some who are sure of election."

The Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) and the Allegheny County League of Women Voters issued their joint *Voters' Director*, for use at the September primaries. This is one directory which does not endorse or rate candidates. It lists those for state, city and county office with biographies.

The Searchlight of the Citizens Union of New York City, published in September, makes recommendations on candidates for city council in four districts where there are local primary contests and a clear choice among the candidates.

Manager Plan Makes Spot News

"Mayor Samuel has convinced us that Philadelphia needs a city manager," says the Committee of Seventy in its *Civic Affairs*. "The mayor has admitted the incompetency and inefficiency of the administration in requesting that an authority be appointed to take over some of his responsibilities. The mayor is slowly recognizing the need for a city manager as a means of separating the business affairs of the city from machine politics. In the best interests of the community the mayor and city council should GIVE THE HOME RULE CHARTER COMMISSION A CHANCE."

To demonstrate the need for a proposed council-manager charter for Poughkeepsie, New York, Harold S. Ahrens and Charles P. Wiweke, secretary and a director of the Tax and Rentpayers' Association, drove to city hall in an ancient horse-drawn buggy. Signs calling attention to the city's

■ 896 charter hung on the sides of the vehicle. . . .

At a meeting of the Gloucester, Massachusetts, Home Owners' League the manager of Saugus reported on the accomplishments of the manager plan in his town. When the manager entered office, he reported, he found a debt of \$19,000. By the end of the first year not only was this debt paid off but there was a surplus of \$19,000 in the treasury. Furthermore, the tax rate was reduced by \$1. . . .

The Citizens Plan E Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, has mailed a hundred thousand booklets, *The New Look for Worcester*, to local citizens. The pamphlet describes the council-manager plan to go into effect in January, party affiliations under it, the use of the P. R. ballot, possibilities for lower taxes, etc. A unique feature of the mailing was that the pamphlets bore no addresses. The association paid \$1,000 postage and Uncle Sam's messengers placed a leaflet in every mail box and letter slot.

An enthusiastic luncheon meeting of the Lowell League of Women Voters heard Mrs. Eric P. Clarke, active in the Cambridge Civic Association and the Cambridge League of Women Voters, discuss Plan E—council manager plan with P. R.—describing its success in her city. Lowell also is operating under Plan E. . . .

The Providence League of Women Voters has prepared a 35-page pamphlet on the city's government. Its preparation was undertaken to provide basic information on the existing city government as the background for an extended study of the possibility of applying the council-manager form to the city.

Council-manager government is one of several subjects being studied by the Civic Research Committee of Memphis, Tennessee, reports Mrs.

Lawrence Coe. In addition to that on the manager plan, the new organization has a number of standing committees including those on city-county integration, permanent registration, voting machines, constitutional rights and education. . . .

Two Massachusetts daily newspapers, in cities where Plan E is about to go into effect, have commented editorially on local citizen activity. The Quincy *Patriot-Ledger*, in its editorial "Plan E Benefits," says: "We think one of the most valuable features of Plan E has been the revival of interest in city government. If Plan E does nothing more in Quincy than this it will have been a great success."

The Worcester *Gazette* comments: "The Citizens Plan E Association has been continually and increasingly active. Its program is ambitious—no less than to approach personally all of the city's voters by one means or another, to educate them on Plan E and to urge them to vote for good candidates. . . . It behooves Worcester to give the CEA encouragement in its task of helping to make a better government for the city. . . . If it does succeed, Worcester will have a first class city council to get Plan E off to a good start."

Replying to a question of one of its readers, *Tax Talk*, monthly publication of the Massachusetts Taxpayers Association, states that "an unprecedented number of towns" in that state "have established committees to study the manager form." Listed are Amherst, Agawam, Arlington, Chelmsford, Concord, Dedham, Hingham, Ipswich, Lexington, Marblehead, Pepperell, Reading, Stoneham, Swampscott, Templeton, Waterford, Wellesley, West Springfield, Weymouth, Williams-town, Wilmington and Winchester.

Constitutional Revision Concerns Women Voters

With constitutional revision a crying need in many states, leagues of women voters all over the country are rallying their forces for the battle.

In Tennessee, where the question of a limited constitutional convention will appear on the November ballot, the state league has appointed a special committee to conduct its campaign with Mrs. Tom Ragland as chairman. The committee plans to work through the ten local leagues in the state. Each will do a thorough educational job, planning radio broadcasts, discussion groups, supplying speakers and newspaper material.

Constitutional revision appears on the "current agenda 1949-1950" of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota which states that "the league will work for a new state constitution or for constitutional revision in the interest of greater efficiency and economy in government." *The Articulate Voter*, organ of the Minnesota league, reports on a bill before the 1949 Minnesota legislature, providing for a constitutional convention, which failed to pass. Efforts will be continued during the next two years.

The League of Women Voters of Illinois has long had constitutional revision as one of its active projects. It worked for a bill before the 1949 legislature which, it reports, failed by five votes. The league will cooperate with other groups in bringing the need of constitutional revision to the attention of the voters when the so-called "gateway referendum"—which provides for liberalizing the amending clause of the present constitution—is voted on in November 1950.

The Indiana Woman Voter published an address by Professor Pressly Sikes of Indiana University, "Does Indiana Need a New State Constitution." Pro-

fessor Sikes pointed to constitutional revision as "a job for the League of Women Voters."

The League of Women Voters of Rhode Island is making a study of constitutional revision for that state.

Community Conference

The New York State Citizen Council's Fifth Annual Institute of Community Leadership, September 14-17, at Cazenovia Junior College was titled "Communities in Action—A Workshop on Community Organization." Do we need a citizens' council in our town? How can we solve the problems our community faces? Do we measure up as world citizens? were some of the problems discussed. Talk-it-over sessions with demonstrations highlighted the program.

The New Jersey State and South Jersey Regional Institute on the Community, under the auspices of the New Jersey Citizens' Conference, met at the Glassboro State Teachers' College in August. Its theme was "New Jersey's Common Stake in the Local and State Community." Case studies of several communities—large and small—were presented. A series of concurrent round tables discussed the community in relation to the citizen, the school, housing, young adults, etc.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Mrs. Ralph B. Morris has been elected president of the League of Women Voters of New York City. From 1938 to 1944 Mrs. Morris was executive secretary of the state league. She has been active also—labor chairman, vice president—in the city league. Mrs. Walter Neale, retiring city president, reported at the annual meeting in May on the great increase in membership and budget during her six years in office.

Researcher's Digest*Edited by John E. Bebout*

Sources of Light from and for Governments

University Bureaus, Planning Commissions, Other Agencies

WOODROW WILSON, in his second annual message as governor of New Jersey, spoke of farm demonstration and similar activities as providing "light from the government" which he distinguished from "help from the government." Since 1913 governments have been giving more and more help but they have also generated more and more light as Wilson understood it.

In an increasing number of states an important source of light is the bureau of public administration of the state university. For the last several years bureau directors and political scientists have been holding discussions to evaluate and sharpen their objectives and procedures. The first of a series of case studies, *Research, Education and Regionalism* (234 pages) has now been published by and about the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama.

According to the authors, Rowland Egger and Weldon Cooper, this and subsequent volumes will "attempt some appraisal of the nature and direction of their development, to relate their work to the expansion both of research in the social sciences and of the service programs of the universities, and to discover whether any significant benchmarks had been established from which university officials might be enabled more confidently to plan future efforts in applied government research." This first report on what is admittedly one of

the outstanding bureaus sets a high standard for those to follow.

One source of light unknown in Woodrow Wilson's day is the state planning commission or planning and development agency. The story of one state planning commission is told by Eleanor Keeble Guess in *The First Fifteen Years: A History of the Tennessee State Planning Commission* (102 pages), published by the Division of University Extension for the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee.

As anyone familiar with the reports and activities of the Tennessee Planning Commission knows, it covers a wide territory. In reports on current questions of public policy it performs a service to the legislature which in many states is provided by the legislative council. In addition to its statewide planning it also advises and assists communities in local planning and development and promotes organized citizen participation in those activities. As a staff agency to the governor, the commission assisted in the 1937 reorganization program.

Some of the light emanating from the bureaus of public administration and state planning and development agencies is, like that of the older farm and home demonstrators, beamed directly to citizens and local communities. But an increasing amount is being beamed to other governmental agencies, supplying the information, objective analysis and foresight needed for sound development and execution of public policies.

As the bodies and physical or material powers of government have grown, it has become more and more important that they be adequately equipped with brains and something

analogous to a central nervous system for the communication of intelligence from one part to another. Although one is inclined to suspect that the bodies have grown faster than the brains, there is some evidence that the worst lag is in the development of a system of intercommunication by which various governments and parts of governments can be kept aware of the sources of light and guidance available in other parts of the system.

A pioneer attempt to supply this lack is the series of handbooks financed partly by the General Education Board and issued during the last few years on aids available to governments in each of seven states in or bordering the Tennessee Valley region.¹ The latest of these, *Aids to Kentucky Governments: A Directory* (146 pages), by Vera Briscoe, research associate of the university's Bureau of Business Research, has just been issued by the University of Kentucky. This directory is accompanied by an illuminating 38-page monograph by Miss Briscoe, *Aids Toward Better Public Service*.

As Miss Briscoe observes, the increasing magnitude and complexity of modern government has created a situation in which "a major factor in improving public services is increasing the availability and use of technical knowledge." She reports that interviews showed that many state, county and municipal officials were unaware of the need for, or the sources of, outside help in doing their jobs. If Miss Briscoe's manual and directory are given adequate circulation in Kentucky, future interviews should produce more encouraging responses.

Perhaps it should be noted in passing that the Kentucky directory, like others in the series, covers not

only state agencies but also federal and private national and state sources of information, including the National Municipal League.

Bureau Note

The Governmental Research Institute, Inc., of Lincoln, Nebraska (formerly the Local Committee of 1000) lists as its "indirect objectives" a city-county building, council-manager form of government, planning commission and civic center, better housing, improvement of county government, better system of taxation, economy and efficiency in all government.

The background and origin of the Dade County Research Foundation and the Syracuse Bureau of Governmental Research are outlined in articles in the July-August 1949 issue of the *GRA Reporter*.

The Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington has issued a report of its activities from June 1, 1948, to May 31, 1949.

From Kalamazoo the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research has issued its *Fourth Annual Report* (July 1949). The institute has as its primary objective "research into the causes and effects of unemployment and . . . methods of insuring against unemployment." Among its list of publications are *Housing Needs in Greater Kalamazoo*, December 1948, and *Industrial Land Supply, Kalamazoo City and Township*, May 1949.

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Strictly Personal

Jack A. Rhodes, director of research of the Oklahoma State Legislative Council, has been awarded a Fulbright Fellowship for study at Cambridge University. He plans to study lawmaking procedures in Parliament and technical services provided British

¹See also the REVIEW, June 1949, page 308.

legislators. Don E. Bowen, of the political science department of the University of Oklahoma, has obtained a year's leave of absence to replace Mr. Rhodes on the council staff.

Irving H. Beck has been appointed managing director of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research. Former research supervisor of the Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois, he succeeds George Nichols who has joined the staff of the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey in Albany.

* * *

A Word to the Wise

A surprisingly large number of pamphlets and bulletins fail to list the date of publication and/or the city and state. We are then left to guess at this information when listing these publications, and when we encounter them in our files years later we are completely baffled.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Authorities

The "Authority" in Pennsylvania, Pro and Con. By Tina V. Weintraub and James D. Patterson. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 50 pp.

Budgets

Background for 1949 Municipal Budgets. (Tables showing budgets and expenditures for various municipal and county purposes.) Helena, Montana Taxpayers' Association, *Montana Taxpayer*, June 1949. 5 pp.

Board of Education Budget 1949-50. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes*, June 30, 1949. 2 pp.

Buffalo School Budget, 1949-50. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, July 21, 28, 1949. 4 pp. each.

GRA Regional Meeting Discusses Property Tax and Budgets. ("Most budgets at all levels of government

are in reality accounting documents which give voluminous details of salary, materials and contract appropriations but which do not disclose, even to careful research, the intended work programs and objectives which must lie behind any budget. . . . There can be no intelligent audit of programs accomplished and work units performed in terms of costs.") New York, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter*, July-August 1949. 1 p.

An Improved State Budgetary System Urgent. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar*, June 25, 1949. 3 pp.

City-County Consolidation and Cooperation

Buffalo and Erie County. ("Cooperation of city and county more important than separation of city and county.") Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, June 30, 1949. 4 pp.

Inter-relationship Between the County and Various Municipalities. (Lists county departments which serve other areas.) Los Angeles, County Chief Administrative Office, Division of Administrative Research, 1949. variously pagged.

San Francisco Consolidated City and County Government Organization Chart. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1949. 1 p.

County Government

Three Tables of 1947 County Costs (County Home Operations, Poor Outside County Homes and Collections for Care of Wards). Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer*, August 1949. 4 pp.

Debt

City Debt and the Five-Year Capital Improvement Program. Hartford, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business*, August 1949. 2 pp. charts.

The Folly of Constant Borrowing. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, June 14, 1949. 4 pp. table.

Newly Authorized State Bonds Exceed Total for 47-year Period. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Taxpayers News*, June-July 1949. 2 pp.

The Proposed 36 Million Dollar Bond Issue. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government*, July 1949. 4 pp.

Education

The Legislature and the Pittsburgh Schools. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter*, July 1949. 5 pp.

Poughkeepsie City Schools: A Survey Report on the School Plant and Facilities. Poughkeepsie, New York, Area Development Association, 1949. 48 pp.

Public Education: A Rich Field for Research. By Alvin A. Burger. New York, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter*, July-August 1949. 2 pp.

St. Louis School Enrollment Problems. St Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, June 7, 1949. 2 pp.

State Aid to Local School Systems. ("Examines briefly some problems, principles and patterns of state aid to local school systems, with particular reference to the school foundation program and equalization aid, especially as related to the California experience.") By Daniel K. Freudenthal. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 37 pp. \$1.

Teachers' Group Asks \$769,601 Pay Adjustment. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, June 8, 1949. 2 pp. chart.

This is How Public Schools Are Financed in New Mexico. Sante Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, 1949. variously paged. tables.

What's Right with Nevada Education? ("Some answers for those who say Nevada spends too little for its schools.") Reno, Nevada Taxpayer Association, *Nevada Tax Review*, July 1949. 5 pp. tables.

Unequal Equalizations: The New Formula for State Aid to Schools. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter*, June 1949. 9 pp. tables.

Efficiency

Modern Methods. ("Providence is believed to be the first governmental jurisdiction anywhere to install a comprehensive general accounting and budgetary control system fully operated by punch-card tabulating machines.") Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, June 1949. 1 p.

Elections and Voting

Municipal Elections in Washington State: An Analysis of Chapter 161, Laws of 1949. Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, *Washington Municipal Bulletin*, June 1949. 4 pp.

Housing

The National Housing Act of 1949. (Summary of the act and the economic and social basis of public housing.) Lincoln, Nebraska, Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin*, August 1949. 4 pp.

Industrial Development

Suggestions for Appraising the Industrial Potential of the Smaller Community. (Facts about city planning and other public services are among those needed in appraising industrial potential.) Madison, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, 1949. 13 pp.

Intergovernmental Relations

Federal Grants to Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, July 1949. 4 pp.

Unfinished Business. (Canadian Federal Government, Provincial-Federal

Relations). Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government*, July 6, 1949. 5 pp.

Law Reform

Challenge to the Law. By George C. Hull. (Fifteen articles and a program for law reform reprinted from the *Journal-Bulletin*.) Providence, *Journal-Bulletin*, 1949. 51 pp.

Licenses

Business License Ordinances Based on Gross Revenues Selected from Washington Cities. (Sample ordinances and forms.) Seattle, Association of Washington Cities, *Washington Municipal Bulletin*, July 1, 1949. 33 pp.

Municipal Government

Report on a Financial and Administrative Survey of the City of Cape May, New Jersey. By New Jersey Taxpayers Association, Inc., Cape May, Taxpayers Association, 1949. 118 pp.

Natural Resources

Administering Mississippi's Wealth. By Robert Baker Highsaw. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 20 pp.

Control of Ground Water. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, May 1948. 26 pp.

Forest Resources and Industries of the Portland Area. Portland, City Club, *Bulletin*, May 6, 1949. 16 pp.

Utah State Land Board. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, June 1949. 4 pp.

Water Resources Problems in California. By Margaret Rohrer and Kenneth Decker. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 47 pp. \$1.25.

Public Welfare

Child Abandonment Should Be a Federal Offense. Oklahoma City, Public Expenditures Council, *Your Report on Government*, June 1949. 4 pp.

Health and Welfare Campaigns in the Portland Area. (Concludes "One annual federated drive for operating

funds for all health, welfare and character building agencies would be to the best interests of the city, county and state.") Portland, City Club, *Bulletin*, July 29, 1949. 11 pp.

Public Welfare Problems in New Mexico. By Helen H. Ellis. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Department of Government, Division of Research, 1949. 35 pp. 50 cents.

Report of the Joint Senate and House Committee on the State Mental Hospitals of Maryland. Annapolis, State of Maryland, 1949. 57 pp.

Public Works

Progress on Public Improvements in 1947 and 1948. By James D. Patterson. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1949. 12 pp.

Taxation and Finance

County Operating Costs Up 15.34%. (Total and combined operating costs for all Iowa counties for 1946 and 1947.) Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer*, July 4, 1949. 4 pp.

Debts—Taxes—Assessments. (An annual study covering six major Chicago governing bodies.) Chicago, Civic Federation, June 1949. 24 pp.

The Results of a Counter-Revolution. ("The League Analyzes the New Version of the Home Rule Tax Law.") Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter*, May 1949. 7 pp.

The Rising Cost of Maryland State Government. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar*, June 23, 1949. 4 pp. tables.

Spending by California Cities. By Hugh H. Brown. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, August 1949. 3 pp. tables.

Utah State Government Financial Summary for the 1948-49 and 1950-51 Bienniums. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1949. 4 pp.

Books in Review

The Municipal Year Book 1949.
Edited by Clarence E. Ridley, Orin F. Nolting and Frederick C. Peitzsch.
Chicago 37, The International City Managers' Association, 1949. x, 582 pp. \$10.

Designed to be of practical use to public officials, citizens interested in their municipal government and research bureaus alike, this book presents remarkably up-to-date information on all the important activities and problems of our municipalities.

Citizen organizations concerned with their municipal form of government will find a concise review of the number and types of cities using the various forms of government and a listing of 1948 changes. Many organizations will be interested in the new section on annexations, including comments on trends, types of areas acquired, reasons for and against and methods of selling people on the merits of annexation. A new section on crime and delinquency, written especially for the *Year Book* by J. Edgar Hoover, reviews the 1948 *Uniform Crime Reports*, a publication deserving wider attention. Planning, zoning and recreation receive equally competent treatment.

Municipal officials in their day-to-day running of the government will find inspiration, moral support or perhaps warning in the vast array of comparative information compiled. For police and fire departments there are statistics which cover such items as hours of work, equipment and the general level of salaries in recent years by size of city. A new section on traffic safety activities, curb loading zones in business districts, off-street parking facilities, as well as information on parking lots and parking meters, brings together considerable data on action being taken to avoid traffic strangulation in our population centers.

Research bureaus and taxpayer groups probably already know the *Year Book* as an excellent place to find such figures as comparative wages for a number of typical city jobs and the number of employees in municipalities, large and small. Added to this they will find this year a new, up-to-date section on municipal non-property tax revenues.

It will be noted that despite the completeness of most of the tabulations, a number of municipalities do not report information to the *Year Book*. Only in a few instances does this limit its use as an excellent reference volume. Still, in some geographic and economic classifications it is troublesome. Perhaps some civic organizations could be helpful in getting their public officials to cooperate more fully with the editors where they find the data for their own municipality is incomplete or not up to date.

Although the idea is sound that the problems facing municipalities are so essentially similar that much can be gained by pooling information on activities, the reader must bear in mind that comparative statistics are seldom truly comparative and almost never are they conclusive. The editors have prepared an excellent warning discussion on the use of their statistics (see "How to Use the Year Book," pages 8-12) and accurate use of many of the tables depends on a careful reading of the explanation of the material in the text.

The Municipal Year Book 1949—the sixteenth in this annual series—is to be highly recommended as the most comprehensive, eminently practical reference work in its field.

HOMER E. SCACE

New Jersey State Chamber of
Commerce

St. Louis Voting Behavior Study.
By Edward B. Olds and David W. Salmon. St. Louis, Missouri, St. Louis chapter of the American Statistical Association, 1948. 22 pp., 24 maps. \$20.

This is a remarkable study of city politics, and it seems a pity that its high price will keep it from having the wide circulation and study it deserves. Dr. Olds, a statistician, and Dr. Salmon, a political scientist, joined their skills to analyze, as has never been done before, the relationships between economic status, social stability, racial or ethnic characteristics, and the way that voters in St. Louis supported party candidates and issues in various elections, 1940 to 1948.

The statistical methods, too elaborate to describe here, depended essentially on correlations. They seem to this reviewer to be valid.

Some conclusions tend to give statistical support to widely held views of political behavior which have not hitherto rested upon much more than casual observation; for instance: "The non-voting and non-registering population tends to come from the lower income strata, from areas which contain old apartment and rooming houses with low rents, and from districts in which racial minorities are segregated." In other words, members of the League of Women Voters will register and vote, and so will men of the same economic and social status. It is among the poor that those people who want to see more voter participation must do their work.

But this study also brings out the fact that a reform measure, such as the new Missouri constitution, received least support in the Negro precincts; whereas it received most support in those precincts which showed a high percentage of home ownership. And this phenomenon cannot in this in-

stance be explained by the activities of political parties. Since Negro precincts also gave the least support to a slum clearance bond issue it may be inferred that the Negroes did not have the proposals sufficiently explained to them. Where they did understand how a measure, such as an anti-race discrimination charter amendment, affected them they supported it overwhelmingly.

The authors notice that, while persons in "areas of low rent, low home ownership, and old homes tend to vote Democratic," other factors beside economic position determine party affiliation, among them race, religion, country of origin and family tradition. There were precincts in St. Louis high on the economic scale which went Democratic in the elections studied, and there were also consistently Republican precincts low on the economic scale. The statistics seem to show that there is "little relationship between Democratic or Republican voting and voting on local measures. . . . It would appear that voters [on local questions] are likely to go their own way uninfluenced by permanent political organizations." The area which most consistently supported what may loosely be called good government measures was not, as one might suppose, the section of home owners, but was instead an area of "apartment house dwellers who pay medium to high rentals."

Possibly the correlations found for St. Louis would not hold for other cities, but at any rate this is a study that no person interested in reform movements, in city politics or in state government can ignore.

DAYTON D. MCKEAN
Dartmouth College

Income Tax Administration. Symposium of Tax Institute, December 1948. New York City, Tax Institute, 1949. xxii, 449 pp. \$6.

This is one of the most significant unofficial volumes in the literature of tax administration. This is the case even though, perhaps *because*, the area covered concerns only selected issues and the subject matter included is not necessarily more important than what is excluded.

After partially duplicating Foreword and Preface, the first part concerns goals in tax administration, conceived broadly as including criteria of justice in taxation. The next four parts concern selected aspects of federal income tax administration. Part VI considers some broad issues of state administration; Part VII, some phases of local administration; and Part IX, particular problems of international applications of income tax administration. Part VIII is the presidential address dealing with the taxpayers' stake in good tax administration.

The bibliography, which is confined largely to those particular phases of income tax administration with which the papers are concerned, is a good one even though it is highly selective.

In well over half the volume dealing with federal income taxation, the omissions of subject matter are illustrative of the limitations of coverage throughout. The authors present no general discussion of administrative planning and organization, no systematic comment on methods of direction or of verification of the actions of subordinates, no over-all examination of form design or of the system of rulings, no full-dress study of the personnel and training problems, no consideration of balancing emphasis as among various aspects of operation (e.g., stress on compliance as com-

pared with audits), and nothing on accounting for tax collections.

True, some of these matters are mentioned incident to other discussions; but most of them are omitted entirely. Although numerous aspects of administrative policy are considered in particular connections, there is no attempt to crystallize a general outline or appraisal.

On the other hand, there is consideration of treasury, congressional and judicial responsibility for making out most important revenue measure work. There is a meaningful consideration of bureau-taxpayer relationships. And there is an extended examination of administrative problems incident to handling numerous substantive issues of federal income taxation.

In all probability most readers of the REVIEW will find the examination of state and local administration more helpful than federal, both as to selection of subject matter and as to significance for their problems, even though the level and the amount of fruitful effort expended in those areas are no greater than in respect of federal and international problems.

The papers concerned with local administration, in particular, go a long way toward providing—from the point of view of an observer, of a governmental participant, and of a "problem child" taxpayer—a check-list of the issues a local income tax administration must confront. Moreover, the authors present or suggest at least one definite solution of the problem examined—though some of the solutions are at the tax policy, rather than the administrative, level.

The Tax Institute is to be congratulated on having hit the bull's eye again!

JAMES W. MARTIN, *Director*
Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

The President and the Presidency. By Louis Brownlow. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1949. 137 pp. In the course of his career, Mr. Brownlow has known and dealt with every president since McKinley, sometimes rather extensively. He discerns that Theodore Roosevelt built the office into a far more massive institution than it had been before and describes its growth and present state with an insight that is enriched by many "close-ups" selected from his own numerous working contacts with the incumbents. A well informed and readable appraisal!

R. S. C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Building Inspection

Survey of Building Inspection Services, City of Milwaukee, 1949. Milwaukee, 1949. 94 pp.

Courts

Horse and Buggy Justice. Trenton, New Jersey, National Committee on Traffic Law Enforcement, 1949. 9 pp.

Directories

Twenty-second Annual Directory of Michigan Municipal Officials, 1949-50. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1949. 70 pp. \$3.

Education

Business Management in School District 189 (East St. Louis, Illinois): A Survey. East St. Louis, St. Clair County Taxpayers' Association, 1949. 130 pp.

The Forty-Eight State School Systems. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1949. 245 pp. \$4.

Trends in City-School Organization 1938 to 1948. Washington, National Education Association, 1949. 40 pp.

Housing

Reference and Source Materials on Housing and Housing Needs, Economic and Social Costs of Good and Bad Housing, Who Pays for Public Housing. Washington, Public Housing Administration, 1949. 41 pp.

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Human Relations in Public Administration. By Alfred De Grazia. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1949. 52 pp. \$1.50.

International Affairs

A New American Policy in China. By Luther Gulick. Washington, National Planning Association, 1949. 35 pp. 50 cents.

World Government. Edited by Ernest Minor Patterson. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, July 1949. 114 pp.

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Motor Vehicles

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The Rising Trend of Government Employment. By Solomon Fabricant. New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1949. 30 pp. 50 cents.

Your Job and Opportunities with the City of Fort Worth. Fort Worth, Personnel Office, 1949. 64 pp.

Public Administration

Policy and Administration. By Paul H. Appleby. University, University of Alabama Press, 1949. xii, 174 pp. \$2.50.

Public Administration and Extension Work. A Series of Eight Talks. By Rowland Egger. Washington, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1949. 120 pp.

Recreation

After the Whistle Blows. By Jack Petrill. New York, William Frederick Press, 1949. 351 pp. \$10.

Recreation Year Book. New York, National Recreation Association, June 1949. 172 pp. \$1.

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Refuse Collection and Disposal: A Bibliography 1940-1948. By Leo Weaver, Washington, Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, 1949. 66 pp.

Salaries

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The Book of the States—Supplement II, July 1949. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1949. 154 pp. \$2.

Taxation and Finance

Administrative Importance of State Corporate Income and Sales Tax. New York, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy* May 1949. 12 pp. 25 cents.

City of Hartford, Department Finance Report. Hartford, the Department, 1949. 28 pp.

Comparison of State Revenue Systems. By William M. Lester. Atlanta, Georgia Tax Revision Committee 1949. 227 pp. maps, charts.

Federal Aid to State and Local Governments. Washington, Bureau of the Budget, Fiscal Division, 1949. 13 pp. tables.

The Finance Commission of the City of Boston. Report to the Legislature for the Year ending December 31, 1948. Boston, the Commission, 1949. 34 pp.

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